INDIAN PROBLEMS IN MALAYA

A Brief Survey In Relation To Emigration.

COMPILED
BY
K. A. NEELAKANDHA AIYER,
Hon: Secretary,
THE CENTRAL INDIAN ASSOCIATION OF MALAYA

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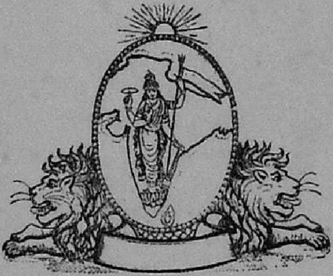

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FOREWORD.

THERE are nearly two and a quarter million Indians living outside India, mainly in Eastern and Southern Africa, Ceylon and Malaya. The people of India immersed in the stupendous problems of their own national regeneration have little knowledge of Malaya and its peculiar conditions. Because emigration to Malaya is controlled, it is generally assumed that Malayan questions are not of any serious importance. Sooner or later, Malayan problems are bound to come to the forefront and it is therefore not at all inopportune to acquaint the people of the mother country with something about Malaya and of the Indian nationals who live and toil in that country.

It is with this object this little volume has been compiled. There may not be wanting critics of the Indian community in Malaya to suggest some sinister motive for this compilation. Those determined to see ill motives are not likely to be deterred by denials but to those in this country who do not and to our countrymen (who I presume need no such assurance) I would, nevertheless, offer an assurance that nothing has been written in this compilation in malice nor to gain any individual advantage. I should also like to say that Indians in this country have lived and will continue to live in peace and amity with all the other communities in Malaya and they have no desire or wish to antagonize any one of them.

It is my earnest hope that the cause for which Mr. Neelakandha Aiyer has devoted so much labour—a real labour of love—will achieve its object in bringing about a greater understanding in India of the Indian problems in Malaya.

A. M. SOOSAY,
President,
The Central Indian Association
of Malaya.

Kuala Lumpur,
F. M. S.

Compiler's Note.

This little volume—the first of its kind—is only intended to provide a general background for an intelligent study and appreciation of the present and future problems of Indians in Malaya. It is admitted on all hands that there is a good deal of ignorance, in India, of Malaya in general and of the condition of Indians in particular.

As the Hon: Secretary of the Central Indian Association of Malaya, I had often to contend with this ignorance even on the part of Indian organisations and leaders who are interested in the affairs of Indians overseas.

Since 1912, I have lived and worked in Malaya and have had opportunities to observe and study many of our problems here. But in this compilation, I have taken care to present to my readers a plain unvarnished statement of facts on some of the major problems affecting the Indians in Malaya, as a reference to the authorities consulted will amply show.

Not only due to her proximity to Malaya but also due to the fact that over half a million Indian nationals are living in this country, India—particularly the *New* or if I may say so, *Nationalist* India—cannot but take a deep interest in the future political and economic development of Malaya. I believe that co-operation

based on sound and intelligent understanding as between India and Malaya will prove of immense value and benefit to both countries. Co-operation can hardly develop out of ignorance. If this volume provides the organisations and leaders in India, not to speak of the Government of India, with the necessary background to study and handle India's future problems in Malaya, I shall consider myself more than amply rewarded. I am deeply indebted to Dr. A. M. Soosay, the President of the Central Indian Association, but for whose active sympathy and encouragement, I may not have undertaken this task.

My grateful thanks are due in no small measure to the Malayan Printers—an Indian-owned and Indian-managed local press—for their prompt and neat execution.

K. A. Neelakandha Aiyer.

Kuala Lumpur,
F. M. S.

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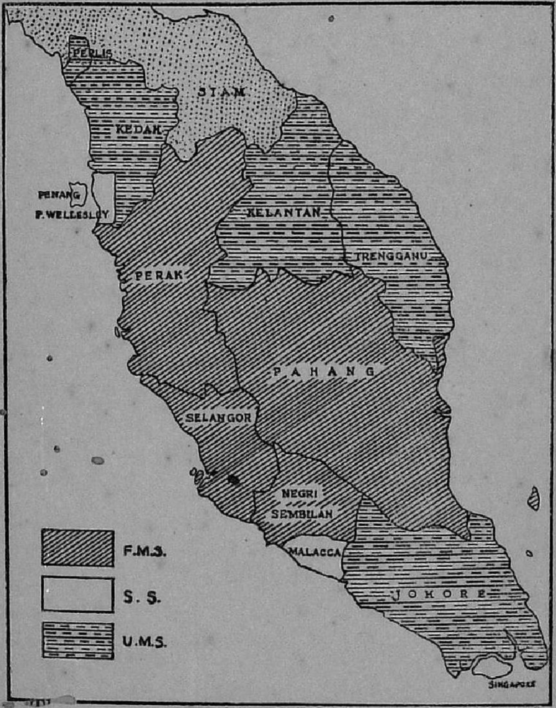

CHAPTER ONE.

INDIANS IN MALAYA.

The Malay Peninsula begins at the Isthmus of Kra 10° N at which point it is only 60 to 70 miles wide and extends South with a general inclination towards the East. A line drawn diagonally from the Kra Isthmus to a point near Singapore gives a length of 750 miles and the maximum breadth is about 200 miles. The Peninsula is one vast forest intersected by countless streams and rivers 'which form the most lavish water system in the world; 72 p.c. of Malaya is still forest.' A range of granite mountains runs from North to South like a vertebral column dividing the peninsula into two unequal portions, the smaller of which lies to the West. It is the smaller portion that has been undergoing intensive development since the peninsula first came under British influence after 1880. Tin occurs in the form of cassiterite and is found close to granite. The soil of the peninsula is fertile. Rubber is the most important form of cultivation. Tin and Rubber are the twin Goddesses of wealth of Malaya in pursuit of which have come the various races to the land of the peace-loving Malay who, with a philosophic disdain, has stood aside and allowed them to have a free hand in the scramble for wealth and riches.

The growth of Malaya as a Colony in the British Empire has comparatively been in more recent times. The first settlements were on the

western sea-board of the Peninsula. They were first Penang, then Singapore and Malacca. Later on there was penetration inland into the Malay States and it is barely quarter of a century that the last group of the Malay States came under British suzerainty. Malaya is an ancient country so far as history is concerned, but is a young country as far as her Colonial history is concerned.

There is often a misconception about the diverse forms of Government in the British Colonial Empire. The official designation—Colony, Protectorate or Protected State—denotes the title of possession rather than type of administration. One name may cover older settled territory and more recently acquired areas with the status of protectorates with correspondingly different types of administrations, though under a single Governor representing the Crown. Malaya, for example, covers three groups under three different regimes. The Straits Settlements (Singapore, Penang, Malacca and Labuan with their dependencies) form a British Colony i.e., an integral part of the King's dominions and all persons born in it have the status of British subjects. The four Federated Malay States (Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan and Pahang) have a single Federal Council and four State Councils and are administered by British officials on behalf of their Sultans under the general authority of the Governor of the Straits Settlements who is *ex-officio* High Commissioner for Malaya.

Devolution of powers to the State units of the Federation rather than a rigid control by a centralized bureaucracy at Kuala Lumpur is the present trend. The third group, the five Unfederated Malay States are autonomous in their domestic affairs, but to each State is attached a British Adviser whose advice must be accepted on all matters except Malay customs and religion. To put it in another way, in the Unfederated Malay States, the States may be said to possess some degree of internal autonomy, but their external relations are controlled by the British Government. In the F.M.S., the internal and external affairs are controlled by the British Government, but the internal administration is carried on by the native Ruler. Malayan administration is a patchwork of widely separated areas at different stages of development—the Colony of Straits Settlements according, theoretically at any rate, equality of status to British subjects and the Malay States denying Malayan nationality to any but a Malay which includes the Malays of Indonesian origin. Though these areas have an effective administrative nexus in the Governor, yet their differing status affects considerably the treatment accorded to the non-Malay settlers and immigrants.

II

It is a commonplace observation to make about Malaya that it is a cosmopolitan country. The Indians and the Chinese have had long

contact with the Malays for centuries and they brought culture and civilization, from their respective countries. India, especially, has influenced the Malay both before and after he became a Muslim. There was a Tamil quarter in old Malacca and the Baba Chinese, the descendants of the early Chinese immigrants, still have their home in the same town. Centuries later, with the rise of the Colonial Empire of Great Britain, the Indians and Chinese came to the land of the Malays entirely under different circumstances and their fortunes have taken different courses. The racial composition of the present-day Malaya has been determined by immigration from India and China.

Malacca alone had from the early times a mixed population of the various immigrant races. Penang and Singapore were both uninhabited islands when they were taken over. From the outset, Singapore attracted Chinese immigrants and in a short time it became a focal centre for the dispersion of the Chinese into the hinterland of the Peninsula. Down to 1873, the three Settlements which now form the Crown Colony were the 'Sydneys of India', being convict stations first under the East India Company and then under the Government of India. In 1857, there were 2,319 of them in the Singapore Jail. Many public buildings including the Government House at Singapore were constructed by Indian convict labour. Especially in Penang the convicts merged in the local population. With the development of the British power on the eastern

side of the Bay of Bengal, there appears to have been some movement of free emigrants during the first two or three quarters of the last century, but it is doubtful how far these comprised estate labourers.

In the eighties of the last century the response from the European planters to the inducements of the authorities to open up the country was disappointing, owing to lack of local labour. The Malay has always shunned the plantations and mines. He has wisely escaped the enslavement by capitalistic enterprises on his own soil. Even to-day he keeps out of them. Given the proximity of South India and the correct, if somewhat neutral, attitude of the Government of India at that time in matters of emigration, it was not difficult for the Colonial Government to turn to a region which promised the supply of labour so necessary for the opening up of the country. The policy adopted was characteristic of the times. A suggestion was made by one of the British Residents that small settlers and peasant-proprietors from the racially akin Malays of the Archipelago should be introduced into the F. M. S., but it was decided that the foreign capitalist should be supplied with alien labour. During the last quarter of the 19th Century, varying measures of control were tried by the Government of India and they finally left the whole matter in the hands of the Colonial Government. This gave a free hand to the employers to draw as much labour as they needed from India. The one obstacle to the development

of the country at a period when it was about to enter an era of very rapid and extensive development was removed and fortunately it also coincided with the cultivation of rubber and the beginnings of the automobile industry.

Thus, ever since the Malay States were taken under protection, it has been the policy of the Colonial Government to induce Indian labour to immigrate for work on roads, railways and estates. Till about 1887, the chief planting industry was sugar-cane cultivation in the Province Wellesley—that thin strip of territory on the mainland opposite the island of Penang. Indian labourers were recruited to work on the sugar-cane plantations under indenture. When coffee planting developed and extended it was found more convenient to recruit free labourers. From about 1900, rubber began to displace both sugar and coffee and the area of plantations increased rapidly. At this time there were three kinds of immigrant labour—(i) indentured or contract labour, (ii) Kangany-recruited labour and (iii) the so-called independent labour. The indentured labour worked on the sugar plantations, Government departments (Roads and Railways) and a few estates which ordinarily did not attract labour. The Kangany-recruited labour worked on the rubber estates. The independent labourers were men recruited in India at the instance of the proprietors opening up new estates. In 1910 the indenture system was abolished and the Kangany system of recruitment was developed more fully to secure a continuous and

uninterrupted supply of Indian labour. The most numerous of the immigrants were and continue to be Tamils, though Malayalees and Telugus are not unrepresented. Tamil contractors, shop-keepers and clerks were not slow to follow the labourer, for without these intermediaries alien labour could not be systematically exploited. From the Punjab came the Sikhs and the Muslim Jats either to become policemen or night watchmen. Many have since settled and taken to money-lending or bullock-cart driving. So too are the Pathans. In 1931 there were 31,001 Punjabees, 1,898 from the United Provinces and 1,833 from Bengal. Very few women came from the last two provinces; there were only 64 from the United Provinces and 112 from Bengal. The Punjabee is scattered all over Malaya. The others are concentrated mainly in Singapore and Penang.*

III

Though a system of indentured emigration prevailed in the Chinese treaty ports, the movements of the Chinese into Malaya have been purely voluntary. From the middle of the 19th Century, first tin and then rubber have caused the Chinese to pour into the Peninsula. The growth of the Chinese industrialist class was exactly opposite to the growth of the European capitalistic class in the Colony. In the case of the latter, investment in agriculture came before investment in mineral production. The enterprising

* Appendices A. & B.

Chinese were connected with the working of some of the Malayan tin mines even before the British intervened in the affairs of the Malay States. As a writer says, "no tin mining proposition is too small for the Chinese, or their women-folk....................although the Chinese miner has worked over much ground imperfectly and waste has sometimes resulted from poor concentration, yet his mobility, the small returns on which he can live, his industry and his willingness to undertake manual labour anywhere with a cheerful disregard of the dangers he creates for himself, enable him to challenge comparison with the efforts of highly capitalised Companies, hampered by expensive plants and necessity of large profits to produce dividends to satisfy their numerous shareholders."

Some populations adapt themselves much more readily than others to alien conditions—the Chinese labourer is one of the most adaptable beings in the world. A large number of labourers work in the tin mines. Owing to the introduction of labour-saving devices on the mines, a considerable number have turned to rubber estates and their employment on the estates dates from 1911. The Malaya-born Chinese are traders and shop-keepers and not labourers or agriculturists. The Chinese are largely the business people of the country. Their wealth is great. They own tin mines, rubber estates and house-property all over the country. Their population is more homogeneous and is representative of the different

social strata and not truncated as is the case with the Indians.

The native or the indigenous element is represented by the Malays. It is doubtful if they can be considered as autochthonous. Imperial policy dictates that they alone are the sons of the soil. All others are guests or intruders as the case may be. In 1891, there were only 231,551 Malays in the F. M. S. or less than the population of its large estates to-day. There is a tendency in recent times to augment the Malay proportion of the population by encouraging the Malays of Indonesia to immigrate to British Malaya. By a process of absorption, assimilation and "naturalisation", it is hoped to maintain a Malay race which may not be submerged and overlaid by the rapidly increasing Chinese population. It remains to be seen whether there will be a sufficient overflow from Indonesia particularly from Java to Malaya so as to strengthen the Malay racial barrier against the rising flood of the Chinese population.

Some indications have been given regarding the manner in which the Peninsula has been populated from the time it began to be developed and its mineral and agricultural resources exploited.* There is one important feature of the immigrant population—Indians as well as Chinese—which needs an examination. In South and East Africa, there is a permanent Indian population. Indian relations with East

* Appendix C.

Africa are long-standing and there was already an Indian community in Zanzibar and the neighbouring country when Indian labour was imported from 1895 onwards for the construction of the Kenya-Uganda Railway. Most of the newcomers returned to India but some remained on the land and some in commercial and other occupations. In Ceylon, there is a considerable nucleus of older settled population and the tendency is for permanent stay. In other Colonies, there is a permanent and settled population since emigration ceased. The Indian population in Malaya is highly unstable. This unstability is mainly due to the migrant labour population. It is estimated by competent authorities that the average duration of the South Indian's continuous stay in Malaya is under three years. The following table shows the growth of the Malaya-born proportions of the Indian and Chinese population:—

	Percentage of Indians born in				Percentage of Chinese born in			
	Malay Peninsula		Elsewhere		Malay Peninsula		Elsewhere	
	1921	1931	1921	1931	1921	1931	1921	1931
S.S.	18	23	82	77	29	28	71	62
F.M.S.	11	22	89	78	17	29	83	71
Malaya	12.4	21	87.6	79	22	31	78	69

These figures may be interpreted to suggest that there is a tendency to permanent settlement. Without entering into an examination, we may accept the views of those who have

studied the question that these increases are largely due to the influx of immigrants and to the improvement in the sex-ratio, resulting in the increase in the number of children born in Malaya of immigrant parents.* The 'turn-over' of population is rapid and the evidence that relatively few Indians born in Malaya remain here is far clearer than in the case of the Chinese. Up to the beginning of the present century the ordinary Chinese had also no desire to settle permanently in Malaya. "While the Chinese population of Malaya has increased by over 800,000 in the past two decades and is now over 1,700,000, the proportion of those who have been many years in the country is relatively small and the proportion who were born and expect to end their days there is smaller still. The human turn-over is exceedingly rapid and the average duration of the stay of an individual Chinese in Malaya is far shorter than seems to be commonly supposed." (Census Report for Malaya 1931). The statistics available do not by themselves 'prove or disprove the supposed tendency to permanent settlement' either by the Chinese or the Indians. This position has been endorsed by Sir Samuel Wilson, the then Permanent Under-Secretary for the Colonies, in the report on his visit to Malaya in 1932.

CHAPTER TWO.

OF INDIAN LABOUR IN GENERAL.

The population problem is of more than ordinary importance in a country where the reservoir of labour—the general population—is deficient. In a country where the trend of population follows the normal lines, imported labour may be regarded as a last resort. In Malaya it is the first preoccupation of the administration. The development of the country by plantations, by mining, public works, etc., demanded from the beginning a regular supply of a wage-earning class in reasonable continuity. The indigenous population in Malaya is sparse and from time immemorial it has been content to secure with a minimum of human effort the means of maintaining a stagnant and non-exigent standard of life. The Malays are under no pressure to work on the plantations or mines because Indian and Chinese labour is readily available. How will the reservoir of labour be held in full to meet all the labour requirements particularly when there is always a large reflow back in the case of the alien immigrant labour?

The most stable element in the population is that of the Malay, but he cannot be induced to work. It is possible to bring Malays from outside the Peninsula and assimilate the local Malay with the erstwhile alien Indonesian Malay, though the process of naturalisation of the Javanese is slower. Statistics show that

the influx of alien Malaysians is somewhat limited and is at present confined to Johore which receives its immigrants mainly from Java, Selangor where a little over a half of the immigrants hail from Java and a third from Sumatra and Singapore where also the Javanese contribution is important. A much larger stream is necessary to replenish the labour reservoir and there are difficulties in the way of a large and continuous flow of Javanese immigrants to Malaya. The reason for this is not difficult to know.

II

The Dutch East Indies is one of the highly developed Colonies in the Colonial world. From them come 92 per cent. of the world's cinchona production, 84 per cent. of the world's cocaine, 79 per cent. of the world's capok, 71 per cent. of the world's pepper, 14 per cent. of the world's tea and 6 per cent. of the world's coffee. The East Indies take third place in the world's production of sugar and after British Malaya, they are the world's largest producers of tin and rubber. Most of this wealth comes from one island—Java—which has a teeming population of 41.7 millions. The outer island possessions of Netherlands by contrast have a population of only 19 millions. The main trends of economic policy in the Dutch Indies for the rectification of the population balance are a gradual industrialization of Java, the coloniza-

tion of the outer islands by immigration from Java and the further development of agriculture in Java.

In Java and Madura there is no need for contract labour, but in Sumatra and other sparsely populated outer islands, plantation-owners and other employers depend largely on labour from Java and Madura, the recruiting of which is subject to close supervision. This is principally the reason why no Javanese coolies may be recruited for labour in foreign countries without the authorization of the Governor-General which is never given except for Dutch Guiana (Surinam) and in occasional cases to Malaya and Borneo. Though on political grounds a larger flow of the Malaysians would be welcome, the indications are that Malaya will have to remain dependent on Chinese and Indian immigrant labour.

III

There is a vast difference between the methods by which the Chinese and Indian labour reaches Malaya. The Chinese labour movement is free and voluntary. It knows the opportunities that are open to it and its self-confidence is a valuable asset in its life abroad. It takes advantage of the opportunities already present and by its efforts creates more opportunities. It does not come to meet the requirements of an alien employer and is least concerned whether its supply is equal to the demands of the employers. This

voluntary movement which is not induced by any external agency always tends to place the Chinese employee in a position of advantage in bargaining with the employer. The Chinese labour force knows when to ask its own price and the invariable shortage of skilled and unskilled labour considerably helps it. Contrasted with this is the movement from India—the very perfection of which is not to the ultimate good of the Indian labourer. The Indian can be had without difficulty. If an estate, or a State department, needs labour, all that is necessary is to send an *indent* to South India and the *commodity* is shipped without much delay. The critic is no doubt told to marvel at the efficient organization which collects, shepherds and transports the motley crowd of Indian labourers and holds them on at the places of employment, but it is forgotten that this mass moves about at the loss of its higher self-respect and without volition which is the very motive power for human activity and for the realization of its self-interest. The position therefore is that at any rate till now there is complete freedom to secure Indian labour to keep the Indian component of the labour reservoir of the country at any desired level whereas in the case of Chinese, it entirely depends on the self-interest of the Chinese immigrant and on the goodwill shown to the Chinese people.

Here may conveniently be mentioned the relative value and utility of the two types of immi-

grant labour. There are some sharp contrasts between the Indian and the Chinese labourer. The latter, though a more homogeneous group than the Indians, are divided into five principal tribes. The *Cantonese* work mainly on the mines, though many of them are engaged on the plantations. The *Hokkiens* pursue an agricultural occupation in the country districts and form the bulk of shop-keeping and trading classes in the towns. The *Khehs* work on rubber estates. The *Tie Chius* are fishermen and also work as labourers on estates. In towns most *Hylams* are domestic servants, but in some parts, principally in Malacca and its neighbourhood, there are small Hylam rubber estates. These divisions and also the differences due to the dialects do not, however, stand in the way of the Chinese being far better organised. There are more than 200 Chinese guilds which give them a sense of solidarity and strength for community efforts. When the Chinese labourer wants anything, he asks for it and gets it. Last year he asked what he wanted by resorting to strike. The employers were taken by surprise and yielded to him. While the Government of India have, by many weary years of negotiation with the local authorities, been able to obtain certain concessions on behalf of the Indian labourer, the Chinese labourer obtained all of them by presenting a demand in an organised manner. The existence side by side of these two dissimilar types of labour forces has some unfavourable consequences. The Indian labourer

is generally looked down upon (not of course by employers) by the other Asiatic communities. There is no sense of fellowship between him and the Chinese labourer who does not consider the former in any sense his rival or equal. The feeling towards the Indian is one of inferiority. The Chinese labourer has his own price. The employer can have him only for that price. He has not to compete with the Indian. If 75 per cent. of the labour on rubber plantations is Indian, and only 20 per cent. Chinese and 5 per cent. Javanese and others, the reason is that Indian labour is comparatively cheaper than the Chinese.

IV

A small section of employers in Malaya are sometimes inclined towards an entirely Chinese labour force. There is first of all the assessment paid to the Indian Immigration Committee by the employers of Indian labour. But this is an unappreciable amount that it need hardly enter into any calculation. The Chinese are organised and work under their *Kapalas* (headmen). A Manager has to deal with only a few of these headmen and not with individual labourers. Then the Chinese tappers prefer to work by results and on the whole, the Manager need not exercise much supervision over his Chinese labour force and on their condition of living and their welfare. Against these must be set out certain important considerations.

The organised Chinese, working as a group under a headman, are always a source of anxiety because of their readiness to strike work easily. Herein lies the immense value of the South Indian labourer who has never known the art of combination. He elects to lie prostrate before his *Periadorai* (Manager) or the *Sinnadorai* (Assistant Manager). There may be in one sense an advantage in not having to deal with individual labourers, but in times of unrest, there are decided advantages in having a labour force in which individual contact could be made such as easily is the case with the Indians. Thirdly, the estate European staff has usually a smattering knowledge of Tamil because all the large estates are organised on the basis of a Tamil labour force. This helps to some extent with the dispensing of the intermediaries. In the case of the Chinese, however, with their diversities of dialects, the Manager is bound to be at the mercy of the labour contractor. Fourthly, some sections of the Chinese are said to be easily infected with Socialistic or Communistic doctrines and their organisations are said to provide convenient 'cells' for such ideas. In recent times, especially after the strikes of 1937, there is a hesitation to rely exclusively on the Chinese. In fact, the tendency appears to be to replace them wherever possible by the Indians. Fifthly, a comparison of the cost of tapping per pound of dry rubber leaves little room for doubt that the Indian is far cheaper than the Chinese. It is not surprising if orders

are sent to the local companies suggesting the replacement of the Chinese by the employment of Indians to the fullest extent as the Indians are more economical than the Chinese.

Is it possible to replace Indian labour entirely by Chinese labour? Even if possible, this course would be highly undesirable for the reasons stated above.* There is always an element of uncertainty regarding the flow of Chinese labour into Malaya. A Chinese National Government is not likely to consent to the setting up of an Emigration Depot by a foreign power in its territory. It is equally unlikely that the Malayan employer will agree to do away with Indian labour, for without the latter the cost of production of rubber can never be low. When prices reign high in the rubber industry,

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*Mr. W. Duncan, Chairman of the Planters' Association of Malaya, made *inter alia* the following remarks before the first meeting of the General Labour Committee held on May 31st, 1920:—

"There are grounds for fearing that in any dealings with Chinese, we shall encounter organised opposition of a kind not so easy to break through.

"The Indian labourer deserves well at our hands. Through a period of most trying years he remained amenable to law and order and generally behaved in a most praiseworthy manner. If he had grievances they were borne passively and perhaps in no other part of the Empire did its subjects cause less anxiety to its Rulers than did Ramasamy here. These qualities should be remembered in his favour in estimating his value to us. It only remains for us now to reward them adequately for their labour and make their prospects equal to, if not better than, those of any class of labourers in the world, Asiatic or otherwise.

"What this country has failed in so far is in inducing labourers to settle here and I think more could be done than is done to make the country attractive enough for them to remain here."

the Indian labourer can always be paid lower wages and enormous profits turned out. When prices fall, the Indian Government may be threatened with the replacement of Indian labour by Chinese labour if they do not give their consent to still lower wages.

The Chinese labourer has so far not offered himself to undercut the Indian and displace him on the plantations. The presence of the Chinese is conveniently taken advantage of to threaten a distant Government imperfectly aware of the local conditions. It should also be remembered that if the Chinese are spread over the two basic industries of the country it would mean a uniformly high level of wages throughout the country. It would be impossible to maintain the differential rates which at present obtain, owing to the presence of the Indians. The importance of this can be better appreciated if it is again remembered that as against about 100,000 workers at the most employed in mining, there are six or seven times more that number of workers connected with the rubber industry, seven-tenths of this large number being Indians. It is unnecessary to emphasise the value of cheap Indian labour.

V

A stage has now been reached in the labour problems of Malaya making it imperative to decide whether to rely on a violently fluctuating labour turn-over or to secure a stable and settled

labour force in the country instead of having to replenish it constantly. The latter will do away with the vexatious necessity of having to depend upon India and her politician-ridden Government in the province of Madras and in the near future, in the Federation. The unsophisticated Indian peasant should consider himself fortunate that he has been provided an opportunity to escape from the sinister influence of the Indian politicians to be received into the bosom of the Colonial *ma baps* who, as the most disinterested friends of Indian labour, will protect him from exploitation by an unscrupulous class of persons by a strange and quixotic perversity on the part of the British people now enthroned on the mighty seat of authority of the British Government. The question of having a resident Indian labour force is raised whenever an apprehension is felt that labour from India may not be allowed to come over. But the question from the point of view of the Colonial administration is not so easy as the employer eager for his supply of labour would be disposed to believe. There is first of all the protection to be given to the Malay from over-rapid economic changes which would result in the introduction of a large number of alien immigrants for permanent settlement with suitable allocation of lands. In the case of the agricultural population, the only mooring it will ever accept is settlement on land. Otherwise no other device will hold it permanently in a foreign land. The Indian movement has hitherto followed a course without

raising any serious trouble to the administration. In the earlier days the unhealthy nature of the country was a deterrent for anyone to stay longer than he wished, provided he survived. The general characteristics of contract labour wherein men are unaccompanied by their families do not favour a permanent settlement. The South Indian labourer has formed no definite attachment to the new country and there are no inducements offered to him in Malaya to forget his home. The only prospect he sees after he has given the labour of a life time is to die in the estate labour lines. Like the true sons of the soil, many prefer to return to their own home. Malaya too has no use for these "sucked oranges". What is needed is a stream of able-bodied men to go through the grinding mill. No doubt recruitment from India is restricted and safeguarded, but it has difficulties. In bad times large number of workers must be repatriated to their homes since the country which needs them in times of prosperity does not wish to face the problems of unemployment. If part of the recruited labour remains behind, it creates thorny social and racial problems. There is no doubt an element of danger in creating a purely proletarian class of alien labour to work on the plantations, but it can be mitigated by deliberately maintaining connexion between the labour and the land. It will be pointed out why this course is not preferred in Malaya. Fluctuation in the world market for Colonial raw materials and food-stuffs means destitution to wage-earn-

ing class. In the Malayan plantations wages are reduced whenever there is such a fluctuation on the assumption the Indian labour needs little for his subsistence. If this step is not adequate to meet a deteriorating situation, then there is a wholesale repatriation to India. Thus the strain on the local resources of the means of subsistence is avoided. This is a clumsy but a practical method of shelving responsibility.

VI

The economic development of Malaya followed a course somewhat different to that of the many older Colonies simply because the intensive development of the country began only at the beginning of the present century. Certain kinds of serious blemishes which disfigure the Colonial history of the 19th century are consequently not to be found. In the latter half of the 19th century, naked methods of slavery could not be employed in any British territory. Methods were adopted which undoubtedly involved some form of serfdom. The area of development in Malaya was comparatively small in the beginning and its extension was not rapid till the introduction of rubber. During this period a system of servile labour assisted the development of the country but the transition to a theoretically free labour system was not unduly delayed. The developments of the Malayan plantations have coincided with the era of rapid development of

scientific knowledge, of means of communication and transport and the growth of the ideas of social justice and labour legislations. The fact that the planters had to depend on imported labour has acted as a powerful lever for improving the health and general conditions of the country. The East Indian planters who depended on imported labour were the first to realise that they could not retain their labour forces unless health conditions were satisfactory and food supply adequate. Critics say that these measures were undertaken to increase the profitability of the concerns and of the Colony for which a healthy and willing labour force was required. Whatever may be the motive, it can broadly be stated as a fact that the history of the conditions of employment of Indian labour has been written on a comparatively cleaner slate in Malaya than in some other places. We have no haunting echoes of the conditions which Morel disclosed in his 'Red Rubber' nor is there much unsavoury legacy due to the employment of servile labour. These better conditions may not altogether be due to altruism, but certainly they are due to the period during which the development of the country has taken place. If this is noted, we need not give more credit than is actually due to certain improvements such as housing conditions, water supply, maternity benefits and other facilities which are provided for at the places of employment of Indian labour. They unduly engrossed the attention of the

Sastri delegation to the exclusion of such major issues as the status of the employee *vis-a-vis* the employer, labour organisation, the extent of the economic independence of labour and land settlement for permanent migrants.

VII

The United Planting Association of Malaya is an influential organisation of the employers. Through this body the planters wield great power and influence. It has only a few individual members. Its membership is now dominated by Companies and Corporations, Agents and Secretaries of Companies with directorates in England and by that powerful organisation in the rubber world, the Rubber Growers' Association in England, consisting of 607 companies and 409 individuals. The members of the Rubber Growers' Association own an area of 2,068,175 acres planted with rubber, of which 1,275,491 are situated in Malaya. The United Planting Association of Malaya is represented by its members on the State Councils of the Federated States, on the Federal Council, on the Legislative Council of the Straits Settlements and on the Johore Council of State. The employers dominate the Indian Immigration Committee and are represented on many other public bodies where their interests are involved. The Association maintains close liaison with the Government and the Controller of Labour is an Hony. Member of the Association. On labour

matters particularly, its contact with the Government is close and frequent, as the Government is responsible for bringing over Indian labour for the plantations throughout the country. Thus the employers have a powerful voice in all labour matters. With an inarticulate and disorganised labour force, their dominant position gives them that air of benevolence towards Ramasamy—the underdog who is cruelly exploited by every parasite in the world except by his *benevolent benefactor*, who certainly knows what is good for his labourer. Starvation and destitution are the badge of his tribe and everything the employer does is in the nature of a favour conferred on him who has been cast away by his own country and driven away from his desolate home. It is absurd to think even of any rights of the Indian labour, and to imagine that Indian labour will ever negotiate on terms of equality with his employer is to invite a mild ridicule. The supposed counterweight of the Indian Government on behalf of Indian labour is practically of no avail as against the powerful pull by the employers. The dominating position of the employers has never been properly appreciated in India. The rubber industry is of importance to everyone who lives in Malaya—whatever be his occupation.

Let us examine a little more closely how far the benevolence of the employer can and will go. The days of the proprietary planters have gone. The few who may be stubbornly surviving here and there hardly matter. A labour force work-

ing under the patriarchal guidance of a benevolent employer may be an idyllic picture of the past. To-day the plantations are a highly organised and developed capitalistic system of agriculture. There cannot and will not be any straight and fair deal to labour unless the employer is conscious of the strength of his employees. There can be no economic fairplay by a foreign employer to an alien Indian immigrant labour working in a foreign territory. This is not because there is anything inherently bad in the European employer or because of his race. Between two unequal forces—one highly organised, capably led and always conscious of its strength both in the economic and political sphere and the other illiterate, backward, an inert human mass, leaderless, drifting about the country helplessly—there cannot be any equilibrium. The weaker must give way. Mr. Sastri's observations in paragraph 4 of his report that the labourer should put his faith in his estate Manager and on his benevolence, are apt to convey an impression as they have actually been construed and given expression to even in the highest quarters, that in the Malayan plantations prevail conditions which secure absolute economic fairplay and endow the labour force with a sense of self-respect. A good manager may treat his labour considerately, but he certainly will not fight his employers over, say, a reduction in wages. He himself is an employee of a Company in England and the financial side of the concern is no more his

responsibility than it is of the labourers. Modern 'big business' will pay lip sympathy to humanitarianism and benevolence in the interests of its business, but it can be trusted to see that it is only a sop to a minority group which clamours for social justice.

VIII

The most important matter from the point of view of the modern producer in the rubber industry is the *all-in* cost. The most vulnerable point of attack in the campaign for the lowering of the cost is the wages of labour engaged on the tropical plantations. The pockets of the shareholders, directors and secretaries are not easily touched. Then there are an army of intermediaries—such as Visiting Agents, technical experts, Managers and Assistants and subordinate officials—all well-organised, vocal and capable of resisting any encroachment on their rights. The interests of all these are generally safe. Not so with labour.* Again international

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* A writer in the *Straits Times* of Singapore (May 21st, 1938) says:—

"Scrap the London offices and set them up in Singapore. Combine small units into bigger groups and reduce the overhead charges. Consult the Rubber Research Institute, tone up your yields and improve your quality of exports.

"Instead of this, the present cry is to reduce the wages of the workers-...............................

"The so-called "boom-wage" is but a correct wage; its restoration is a step in the right direction; its negation spells ruin. Estates are capable of paying this wage; if there is any concern unable to pay, let it be blotted out of existence. Where there is a will there is a way."

finance with its system of inter-locked interests operating in several countries always works for lower costs by lowering the cost of production in one country and utilising the same as a lever for reduction in another. The wire-pulling by international finance often conducted with great skill, is hidden from the vulgar gaze of the common people and its mysteries are known only to an *esoteric* circle. It will be many many years before the Annamite, the Javanese, the Indian and the Chinese labourer will know all about his wages and how they are determined. It is hardly realised that the rubber plantations are one of the most amazing developments of modern capitalism, surpassing in everything the older and better known plantation industries of tea, coffee and sugar. All capitalistic enterprises are ruthless in character and rubber is no exception.* Benevolence and charity have no place and it is only a well-meaning idealist who associates them with highly organised enterprises.

There is a long and unsatisfactory history on the wage rates for Indian estate labour. The benefits actually accrued to or derived by the labour were practically nil. In the height of the 'boom' period before the depression of 1930, labour enjoyed the "luxury" wages of 50 cents for men and 40 cents for women for less than two years! Seven years later on it

*To quote only one example, during the last rubber slump one of the local Estate Agents, in a circular issued to the estate managers under them stated *inter alia,* "our methods should be cold, calculated and relentless."

enjoyed the same *luxury* rates for a brief space of one year entirely due to fortuitous circumstances. Before the slump, the so-called standard wages were assumed to be generous living wages and they had a legal force in a small area in Malaya. Elsewhere the rates depended upon the supply of labour and on market conditions.* At present it is not known on what considerations the wage level is being regulated—whether on the cost of living, or the bare needs of a labourer and his family and dependants, the cost of production, the selling price of rubber or the percentage of quota of production. International rubber restriction has introduced new factors in the determination of wages which are brought into play when there is no acute shortage of labour. Wage rates are made to fluctuate according to price level and percentage of release.

Enquiries have from time to time been made as to the cost of production of rubber on the basis of permissible standard production. It has been estimated that on a basis of 75 per cent. production, the cost of production is 11.65 cents per pound and on a basis of 70 per cent. the average cost is 11.995 cents. Recently the *Straits Times* of Singapore published an article showing the items which contribute to *all-in* costs of production and how the total earnings are distributed. The figures relate to 1937, the permissible allowance of export quota being 75 per cent. for the first quarter, 80 per cent. for

* Appendix D.

the second quarter and 90 per cent. for the rest of the year.

Out of the 14.59 cents *all-in* cost, 3.37 cents a pound were the London charges such as fees, commissions, selling charges etc. accounting for 23.18 per cent. of the total charges. The remaining charges were incurred on the estate as follows:—

	Percentage.
General Charges	32.91
Upkeep & Cultivation	6.70
Crop expenses	33.87
Upkeep of buildings	3.34

These figures even as they are presented are of sufficient interest in showing that the cry that the industry is groaning under the heavy weight of having to pay the exceptionally high rates of 50 cents to a male Tamil labourer is a baseless one and is only in the nature of a manoeuvre to pull down wages to the lowest level possible so that the rebound even in times of exceptional prosperity may never be over 50 cents.*

* "The cost data collected by the Rubber-Growers' Association are strictly confidential and are not available, but perhaps a fair average cost of production of an estate producer in Malaya, worked out on the above basis, during the second half of 1937, when the exportable percentage stood at 90, would be approximately as follows :—

		Pence per lb.
1.	F.O.B. cost	3.75
2.	Freight and Selling	0.75
3.	Head Office Expenses	0.30
4.	Profit sharing arrangements ...	0.10
5.	Depreciation and Amortization ...	1.25
	Total "All-in" cost ...	6.15

On a capital expenditure of £60 per acre the allowance

IX

It has been pointed out that Indian labourers work under a most highly organised body of employers. It has been asked whether Indian labourers can ever organise themselves for, by organisation alone and not by spoon-feeding—benevolently or with selfish motives—will they increase their stature and gain self-respect. This means thinking in terms of labour unions or trade union organisations. It is doubtful whether in Malaya trade unions of the genuine type would ever be allowed to take even a shape having primarily a regard to the political advancement of the country—particularly of the Malay States. The effective functioning of trade unions will depend upon the growth of political consciousness, the stage of political development in the States, their political constitutions, the measure of civil liberty enjoyed by the people and such other factors. The

for depreciation and amortization would be about 0.60d. per lb. higher.

These costs refer to Malaya only. For estates in the Netherlands East Indies, owing to the recent devaluation of the guilder, they are, at present, slightly lower. For the other important producing countries it is very difficult to obtain a representative sample, mainly because so many producers have more than one culture.

Estate wages and salaries are the most important item in the cost of production, and amount to about 60 per cent. of the f.o.b. cost. These items were reduced to a bare subsistence level during the slump, and their increase to a more reasonable level with the improved price of the commodity was to be expected. The price of the commodity has a definite direct influence on costs." (*The Planter*, May, 1938.)

Malay States enjoy no democratic constitution even of a rudimentary type. At their best, they are benevolent autocracies. Autocracies may be attractive, picturesque and paternal, but they are intolerant of criticism or of constitutional opposition. To say that trade unions can grow in Malaya is to make a large presumption. A concrete illustration will explain the position better. A group of employees wish to form a union. It cannot be done under the existing Societies Enactment. Even if the enactment is amended, it will be a feeble society scarcely able to function, for the authority which gives permission for its formation may revoke it without assigning reasons. The executive has another powerful weapon in its hand—the Banishment Enactment. Any official of even such an impotent or harmless labour organisation may be banished under that Draconian law. Any labour legislation seeking to establish parity of rights between the employers and the employees, or setting up conciliation or arbitration boards will, in the present state of conditions in the country, give power to the Executive to deal with industrial questions in the manner it likes, but will not mean the enlarging the bounds of liberty for the workers. There are other difficulties with particular reference to the Indians. The Malayan Labour Department has from the beginning assumed the protection of the interests of the labourers as its special function and the usefulness of the department will diminish particularly in the eyes of the em-

ployers, if labour can independently negotiate. Owing to the general illiteracy of South Indian labour, this department will advance its claim to represent and protect labour interests and may even be called upon to perform the almost impossible feat of representing the views of the alien immigrant labour while safeguarding the rights of the employer and at the same time maintaining the detachment of a department of the State charged with the great responsibility of watching the affairs of the employers and of labourers without favour or partiality to any one interest. Indian labour is loosely knit and dispersed. Its life is one of isolation. The middle class and the well-to-do elements in the Malayan Indian society are still disproportionately small though their numbers are increasing. It is leaderless. It is incapable of throwing out *leaders* at any rate in the beginning. 'Outside' leaders, leading local labour organisations, will not be recognised. Further, nearly 80% of the labour population in the estates belong to the depressed and backward classes of the South Indian villages and they are difficult to organize without being first educated in their elementary rights. These difficulties are emphasised with a view not to discount the necessity or desirability for the formation of labour unions, but to emphasise that the problems of the Indian immigrant should be approached from certain other directions as well, if his future conditions have to be bettered. While the objective should not be lost sight of, it appears to be

outside the range of achievement either immediately or in the near future.

X

The question has not been infrequently raised whether India should go on supplying an army of wage-earning class to Malaya year after year which is thrown about like a shuttle-cock between the two countries. India gains nothing concrete by this game. Statistics of savings and post office remittances may be bandied about and sermons preached by the employers' associations on the one-sided significance of those figures. It is not possible to analyse the question here. So far the question has been handled more in a spirit of argument than by an impartial economic enquiry. One would like to see even a modest enquiry into the question of the economic position of Indian labour on the lines of the economic enquiries in the Indian Provinces or in Burma. A perfunctory enquiry held by the Malacca planters showed the bad plight of Indian labourers and they wisely discontinued such disconcerting kind of investigations. According to an independent authority "the vast majority of them have risen no higher than their miserable starting point and have lived out their brief Malayan lives within a radius of a few miles from the dingy 'coolie lines' in which they slept."* Whether they are themselves to blame is beside the point. Indian opinion has always maintained that eco-

* *Malaysia* by Rupert Emerson.

nomically the Indian labourer remains where he was when he came to give his life-time to Malaya. For well-nigh over 40 years this vast circulatory current of immigrant labour flow has gone on between India and Malaya.*

We may have a plethora of protective measures and lay the flattering unction to our soul that they are of immense value to our labour. Statutes do not confer any economic status to a labourer. He is brought from India and kept on the 'coolie' lines to work on the plantations. True there are no penal sanctions. He can go wherever he likes. He can only go to another 'coolie' line on another estate or to a Government 'coolie' line. He comes from a class which is ill-equipped to adapt itself to any other occupation. There is thus no escape for him from the 'coolie' line. He cannot go back to his village as the labour movement is not a land migration, but an overseas movement. He cannot go back to land because he does not belong to a rural community in Malaya. When once he is lodged in the 'coolie' lines, ordinarily he has no means of escape except it be to India back again provided he has money to get back. Theoretically and legally he is free; economically he is held in fee. If wages are cut, he must accept the inevitable. The alternative is starvation and unemployment. If there is a slump, he lives on starvation wages or is cast back to India. The Malayan employer has found in this arrangement a weapon to keep a wage-earning class under his control. He can

* Appendix E.

always dictate to it because it is helpless and it can find no quarter in the country except in the 'coolie' lines.

XI

The employers have sometimes realised that justice and higher morality demand a different treatment. Be it a sense of fairplay or the necessity to confound the enemies of Indian immigration, they have sometimes realised that the interests of the estates were not confined merely to securing and exploiting labour in times of prosperity and getting rid of it when it became burdensome, but that they had a higher duty in giving the Indian labourer a better opportunity of improving his prestige and status as a worker by means of a carefully considered scheme of land settlement or colonization. It is true some attempts have been made to get into grips with this question, but if nothing tangible has come out of the attempts, the blame is not altogether of the employers. The creation of a permanent reservoir of alien immigrant labour creates and raises political problems of importance for the Malayan administrations, who, for obvious reasons, are unwilling to commit themselves to the permanent presence of a large number of Indians. The question is resurrected now and then, when the flow of immigration is threatened, and is buried again when the crisis passes over.

More than 35 years ago, a scheme was actually

drawn up, but it fell through. In 1920, the General Labour Committee appointed by the Planters' Association made the following report:

> "So far as the Committee are aware, the Indian labourer does not evince much disposition to settle in the country as a cultivator on his own account. The Committee, however, believe there is plenty of land in the Peninsula which could be given out to Indians on easy terms; but inducements for them to settle on the land are not great. A permanent cultivation such as cocoanuts, oil palms or rubber would not be suitable unless land were available nearto where they could work and earn wages and such conditions are uncommon. Other forms of cultivation have not proved to be remunerative in normal times and the only likely possibility of inducing Indians to take up land would be for Government to nominate certain land products which are in demand and likely to grow well, set aside suitable areas where available, for their production; subsidise them for a time in some way or other; lend money to *bona fide* settlers for specific works or purchase of stock, etc., at say 6 per cent. and advertise the scheme widely in India. Benefits under any such scheme might be given as a reward to worthy labourers. The Committee believe that a

> colonization scheme would be for the general benefit of Malaya and would in time open up a new source of supply of labour."

The general question of colonization was never seriously pursued. The report of the above Committee contained many such realistic approaches to the problems of Indian labour and it is significant they were made at a time when the bugbear of the Indian Government was not present in the mind of the Committee. Post-War Malaya was soon to enter upon a new phase of political development particularly in the Federated States, and, as far as the planting interests were concerned, there was the unwanted intrusion by the Indian Government. It is no wonder the Committee's recommendations were later condemned as heresies. There was a realignment of the interests affected and a united front began to be formed—many years before the slogan of the *popular front* came into prominence—to resist the slow but insidious attack by an outside authority. Some years later, therefore, the question was shelved. It was subsequently decided that there was something inherently wrong in the Tamil character in becoming a settler and it was best to leave him to roam about the country in his own way if he elected to stay permanently in Malaya. The haunting spectre of the stoppage of assisted or unassisted emigration from India is a perpetual nightmare to the Malayan employer and he could not remain quiescent. He turned away from the question

of land settlement and began to explore the possibilities of having settlements on estate lands. The main objective was to get independent of supply from India as soon as possible. 'Settlement on estate land' was only a grandiloquent term for the provision of small vegetable plots which are really *subsistence* plots meant to ward off the wolf from the door in times of distress or slump. The labourer is supposed to fall back upon it when his employer is unwilling to pay him sufficient wages. The labourer becomes 'domiciled' on the estate and thus creates no problem for the State. Like the rubber trees, the factory and 'cooly' lines, he is part and parcel of the rubber company. If the Company goes into liquidation, the labourer goes home. His 'domicile' terminates. No repatriation is called for in bad times for he will somehow exist. The idea was not to let him go home. Because then it would be difficult to get him back. In good times when fortune is smiling on the industry, there will always be a reservoir of labour. The essence of all this was that the labourer should remain for ever under the control of the estate under sufferance and on good behaviour. His home is his 'coolie" line and his land for which he has no title is the garden plot. The degradation of the status of the South Indian agriculturist could not go further.

Even these proposals do not appear to have gone beyond the stage of discussion. The question was raised in a cautious manner in the Sastri Report in the following terms:

"It is, however, essential that they should provide for complete independence and liberty of movement among the settlers, so that no suggestion that they are in any way tied or bound to a particular estate should be allowed to grow. I think, therefore, that any such schemes must be sponsored by Government and by Government alone. It is the settlers themselves who by their own exertions open and develop the land, and it must be clearly understood that they have as permanent a stake in the welfare of the country as any mine or estate owner. Their title therefore must be permanent and unassailable, and in any future political development which may take place they must receive recognition as permanent independent inhabitants of Malaya."

It is no doubt convenient to have the settlements on the estate lands. But the planters saw a snag in adopting this as a uniform policy. There are some estates which have practically no land available. Then there is the question of replanting and new planting—subjects which fall within the purview of the International Rubber Regulation Committee. The extent to which Government would accept a settlement policy off the estates was no less important. Mr. Sastri, perhaps, did not realize that the Indian labourer is welcome not as a prospective or potential settler, but as a wage-earning worker only on the estates. It is certainly not the idea in this country that he should eschew employment as a wage earner and become a small farmer for his own profit. Such a state of affairs is counter to the

accepted notions of Indian immigration to Malaya. The Malayan administrations sympathised with the planters in their eager determination to hold on to Indian labour and the planters sympathised with the policy of the Government in resisting all encroachments on the fast dwindling land which once belonged to the Malays. The result is neither of them is able to find any suitable land. Soon the employer will be up against another real difficulty. The population of dependents has been increasing by leaps and bounds. Estate Managers are happy at this increase in population and hence in man-power. The Manager is at present desperately anxious to cling to his labour. He will soon be confronted with a large dependent population subsisting on the earnings of one member at low wages. As in India, the people will multiply fast as soon as satisfactory health conditions are established and a check is put upon the ravages of nature. The employers will have to face the problem of feeding their large estate population for all of whom they cannot give employment. Unless they spread them out on land, they will have to face another problem which their expedients are leading to.

XII

The real impediment to any scheme of land settlement is the policy to which the administration of the F.M.S. is perhaps irrevocably committed. All other objections are surmountable.

In this connection it may not be inappropriate to notice what the Dutch are doing for colonising their imported Javanese labour in Sumatra. The Dutch have to deal with their own subjects and are unencumbered by any policy, unlike Malaya which has to deal with the aliens. The Dutch rightly realised that the system of settling workers on small parcels of land on the outskirts of estates so that they may support themselves and their families partly by cultivating their own plot and partly by working on the estate, was unfair to settlers who might suffer if the estates had to curtail their labour force. It was therefore considered desirable that the settler should have a plot of land sufficient to make him independent of wages. A far-sighted policy will not think in terms of 'reservoir of labour', 'subsistence plots' and 'settlements of coolie lines', but in terms of organic rural communes acting as shock-absorbers for capitalistic agricultural systems whose affairs always go wrong and bring misery to the wage earners. Says an authority describing the conditions during the last depression when thousands of Javanese were thrown out of work:—

"The power of absorption shown by the Javanese rural communes is amazing. . . . .The advantages of an early stage of capitalist development which has not given rise to a large proletariat are clearly seen in these regions. The unemployed form a small percentage of the population and have not lost the habit of working in the fields. Nevertheless this influx demanded

extreme elasticity on the part of the native population especially because it was directed towards the most thickly populated areas (the principal sources of emigration) which were themselves impoverished by the crisis and had neither reserves nor supplies for their guests."

It is the policy of the Malayan administrations in the Federation and in the Unfederated States of Johore and Kedah where there is more alien immigrant labour than in the remaining Unfederated States in the north of the peninsula, to adopt measures to shelter the Malays from the rising tide of the alien population and to protect them from the alien surge.* It is considered to

* "That Johore should organise immigration from Java, and co-ordinate that policy with the development of rice cultivation on the largest possible scale" is the plea put forward by *The Straits Times* of Singapore in its issue of June 7th, 1938. In dealing with the subject, the paper said, "In the last census report in Java it was estimated that the rate of increase was 600,000 a year. Parts of Java are already more densely populated than any part of the world except the Nile delta; poverty is increasing among the peasantry; and the Dutch know that serious agrarian discontent is inevitable if the pressure of population is not relieved by emigration. Unfortunately the Javanese peasant has no desire to leave his beautiful country (for which he cannot be blamed) and the colonisation policy is not progressing as fast as the Dutch had hoped. Accordingly it is reasonable to believe that if an opening were to present itself in British Malaya, it would be welcomed. In the past the Dutch have not been inclined to encourage immigration to this country, but in those days we thought solely in terms of coolies for the rubber plantations. To-day the suggestion is a very different one: it is that Javanese peasants should come to Johore to colonise new padi areas, which would be scientifically irrigated and drained and organised on modern lines; and there the immigrants would settle as an independent peasantry living in their own kampongs and cultivating their own padi fields.............Mr. Cheok Huan Cheong has stated that 'there are Chinese capitalists prepared to take up sufficiently large areas,' and this certainly would bring

be highly undesirable to bring the Malays into contact with these races and a settled group of Chinese and Indians in proximity to the Malays would bring about changes in the rural areas the consequences of which no one can foresee. The Malay reservation areas are bulwarks against the swarming races of India and China. The policy underlying the Malay reservation is hidden from the public and is quietly conducted with minimum of publicity and maximum of secrecy so as not to arouse the suspicion of the Chinese or the Indians or to invite any protest due to deliberate discrimination. Any real scheme of land settlement in Malaya for the immigrant Indians is bound to be shattered on the rock of this policy for the reservation of lands for the Malays only.

Some glimpse into the working of the land policy in the F. M. S. can be obtained from the

about quick results. If the sole consideration were the creation of food resources in time of war, Chinese development would be excellent, but on the other grounds, there are grave objections to it. If 10,000 acres of padi land are colonised by Chinese in Johore, that area will be an alien, unassimilable enclave until the end of time..............If the new padi areas in Johore can be colonised by peninsular Malays, well and good; but failing that, the immigration of Javanese would be an admirable solution of the problem. The Javanese will blend with the Malay population, and they are such expert and industrious padi cultivators that their contribution to the food resources of Johore will be just as large as that which could be expected from Chinese. Such an argument implies no prejudice against the Chinese as such, but is inspired by a conviction that Johore must have a homogeneous peasantry, no matter how mixed its estate population may be. That means that only Malaysian settlers can be permitted on the new padi areas, and if rubber and copra have attracted Javanese to Johore in the past, it is quite likely that rice will do so in the future."

published statements accessible to the general public. In 1936, the total area of Malay reservations in the State of Selangor was 319,640 acres. A small proportion of this area has been alienated in favour of the Malays. The balance, held by the State, may either be alienated to the Malays or turned over to further capitalistic enterprises should such a demand arise from the planters. The statistics for the State of Perak are also of interest.

District	Area of Malay Reservation
Krian	18,886 acres.
Larut & Matang	190,392 ,,
Upper Perak	1,281,876 ,,
Kuala Kangsar	277,965 ,,
Kinta	11,500 ,,
Batang Padang	39,713 ,,

In over-crowded areas like Krian and Kinta, where land has been extensively alienated for plantations or mining, it is difficult to allocate considerable cultivable land without cutting into land already alienated for industrial purposes or into the forest reserves. As an example the following figures* for the Kuala Kangsar district explain the position more fully:—

Sub-District.	Area of sub-dist.	Area of Malay reservations.	Area of Forest reserves	Balance.
K. Kangsar	662,160	91,365	217,915	352,880
Parit ...	181,360	115,337	53,445	12,578
Sitiawan ...	139,520	71,263	13,500	54,757
Total ...	983,040	277,965	284,860	420,215

* In acres.

In Upper Perak only 23,532 acres have been alienated and the considerable balance is held in reserve. These figures are sufficient to indicate the existence of these barriers called Malay Reservations against the incursion of the more populous immigrant races.

The land in the Malay reservations is only alienated to the Malays and must thereafter remain in Malay hands. An aggravating matter in this pro-Malay policy is that the most recent immigrant Malays from the Dutch Indies are given equal recognition with the Malays of the F. M. S. and are eligible to hold land in the Reservations whereas the immigrant races ot India or China whether they are settled for generations or have recently migrated are rigorously excluded. As one State report puts it, "the Javanese Settlements have all been gazetted as Malay reservations, the term 'Malay' as defined in the Malay Reservations Enactment including any person belonging to any Malayan race who habitually speaks the Malay language and professes the Muslim religion. By this means the lands are secured to the settlers and their descendents against the inroads of the more thrifty and acquisitive races such as the Chinese."

No people will thrive by being sheltered to an excessive degree. Evidence is not wanting that in places the Malays remain the owners of the land and cultivation has been passed on to others. An official report records that in a certain Malay reservation the titles are registered

in the names of the Malays, but the occupiers and real owners are Chinese and Indians. In such cases the foreign Malays are the dummies.

The position of Indian labour in Malaya is not definitely one of a self-reliant, coherent, organised body, ordinarily able to look after itself with a certain amount of protection that every labouring population stands in need of. Even with the mass of legislative enactments that have been passed to protect the rights of Indian labour—many at any rate in recent times at the instance of the Government of India,—there has been little advance in its status. Its working and living conditions have remained low. This shows that protective legislations are only useful in preventing grosser abuses and in restraining a very powerful employer from committing any acts of depredation on a weak, disorganised body of labourers. Such legislations have only a negative value. On the positive side they have failed to improve the value of the labourer and implant in him a sense of higher self-respect. We cannot altogether attribute all the blame to the conditions in the country to which our people migrate. India should take the full responsibility for the short-comings of her emigrants and decide whether she should not regulate the type of emigrant who should go abroad. Nor is the labour likely to be a resident labour in Malaya. It may remain—the chances are it will certainly be—as a labour force under the control of the plantations and

though nominally free, economically in a state of serfdom if it permanently resides in the country. It will in no case remain as a free settlement of the people. If any of the members of the so-called settled force on the estates cut themselves adrift from it, and yet elect to stay in this country, they will form a floating population in the towns occupying lowly positions and merging themselves in the lowest element of the populations in Malaya. This is the general fate of an indigent wage-earning class—a landless proletariat whom India dumps on Malaya and whom Malaya utilises till they are able to render her service. The stragglers who remain behind in Malaya, become the tragic orphans—of whom India has well-nigh forgotten and Malaya looks down upon with contempt—as worthless dregs in a prosperous society.

CHAPTER THREE.

ECONOMIC STRUCTURE.

The economic structure of the Indian society has been determined by the elements that have been carried by the migratory movement from India. This movement has been predominantly in favour of the unskilled agricultural labourers from a few districts of the eastern parts of the Madras Presidency. Smaller trading communities are fairly well-spread and they were of much help in the earlier days when the country was being opened up by the alien immigrants. At a much later date have come a comparatively smaller number of merchants and businessmen, doctors and professional classes. Unlike the Chinese, the structure of the Indian society did not undergo modifications by taking advantage of the great opportunities that were practically limitless at a period when a virgin country was being developed and exploited.

Malaya is not a manufacturing country. There are a number of small industries connected with agriculture. The main raw products of the country—rubber, tin and copra—are exported to the principal markets of the world and the small scale industries are merely the by-products of the trade in these commodities. With the exception of tin smelting, many of these small industries are in the hands of the ubiquitous Chinese.

Of the exploitation of the minerals, the foremost place is occupied by the mining of tin. Other metals mined are gold, principally by the Australian Gold Mining Company in Pahang, coal by a British Company and iron by Japanese companies. For several decades, tin mining has been largely in the hands of the Chinese, who have successfully exploited the mines by their own fantastic devices. The Chinese still hold a considerable share in the industry in spite of the extension of the British enterprise particularly after the War and the introduction of the British-controlled dredgers. The labour employed in the tin mines is practically confined to the Chinese. A small number of Indians are employed on tin mines on surface works. This is the only association Indians have with this industry. No Indian owns a tin mine.

The whole of the area under cultivation was formerly covered with heavy forest. The early ventures of the European planters were confined to coffee, sugar, nutmeg, clove, cocoanuts etc. Most of these were soon abandoned and rubber was planted on an extensive scale. The extensive area under rubber conveniently falls under three groups viz., the large estates, medium sized estates and the small holdings which generally have a mixed crop including rubber. After a long interval, comes the cocoanut palm. The third principal crop is wet rice—the principal agricultural pursuit of the Malays.

II

Of the five million acres under cultivation in Malaya, 3,280,000 acres are planted with rubber. Nearly two-thirds of this area is under estates of 100 acres and over. A bulletin entitled 'Nationality of ownership and nature of constitution of rubber estates in Malaya', published by the Department of Agriculture, gives a very useful analysis of the ownership and constitution of the rubber plantations and the information given here is taken from that publication. In 1932, there were 2,301 estates in Malaya of 100 acres and over. The total acreage comprised in these estates was owned as follows:—

Non-Asiatics	...	75.0 per cent.
Chinese	...	18.6 ,,
Indians	...	3.0 ,,
Japanese	...	3.0 ,,
Rest	...	0.4 ,,

A total of 827 estates is owned by public limited liability companies constituting 43 per cent. of the total area planted with rubber in Malaya. All but a small number of these estates are owned by Europeans.

Nationality.		No. of estates of 1000 acres & over.	No. of estates of 100—1000	Total.
Non-Asiatic	...	479	314	793
Chinese	...	3	11	14
Japanese	...	7	9	16
Malay	...	—	2	2
Other Asiatic	...	1	1	2
Total	...	490	337	827

Private limited liability companies are few. Such companies restrict themselves to number of shareholders and in such matters as disposal of shares. The shareholders are virtually partners without, however, financial risks which by law are inseparable with partnerships. The acreage held is only 71,330.

ESTATES

Nationality		Over 1000 acres.	Of 100-1000 acres.	Total.
Non-Asiatic	...	12	32	44
Chinese	...	3	11	14
Indian	...	—	1	1
Total	...	15	44	59

There are 1,430 privately-owned estates of 100 acres and over. The most important private owners are Chinese who hold 69 per cent. of the area owned under 100 acres and over. Non-Asiatics own 11 per cent., Indians 12 per cent., Japanese 6 per cent. and Malays 2 per cent.

ESTATES

Nationality		Over 1000 acres.	Of 100-1000 acres.	Total.
Non-Asiatic	...	8	144	152
Chinese	...	48	904	952
Japanese	...	4	16	20
Indian	...	2	139	241
Malay	...	1	56	57
Other Asiatic	...	—	8	8
Total	...	63	1,367	1,430

These figures may be completed by mentioning

that the holding below 100 acres for which no classification is possible are largely held by the Malays. In most cases the majority of these holdings are not more than 25 acres in area.

Large-scale capitalistic enterprise is principally in the hands of the European Companies. The bulk of the Chinese enterprise is concentrated in the medium-sized estates though a small number of larger estates is owned by them. The interest of the Indians is virtually confined to estates over 100 acres and they are not considerable. It is believed that the bulk of the estates are owned by the Chettiar Community and more estates appear to have passed into their hands in recent years particularly during the slump of 1930. In the F.M.S., Indians own 118 estates, in the S.S., 31 and in the U.M.S. 90.

III

A snapshot as it were of certain cross sections of the main races by their principal occupations can be obtained from the following table. The figures are those given in the 1931 Census Report for Malaya:—

OCCUPATION BY RACES IN F.M.S. (1931 Census)

Occupation.	Malays	Immigrant Malaysians	Chinese	Indians
Fishermen	5,715	307	7,291	56
Agriculture				
1. Rice Planters	78,009	11,113	1,038	1,892
2. Rubber Estate Owners, Managers & Assts.	1,803	910	1,514	58
3. Others in Rubber Cultivation	27,618	20,825	100,789	131,099
4. Coconut Estate Owners	744	669	23	9
5. Others in Coconut Cultivation	4,262	5,982	1,256	8,010
11. Unclassified Agriculturists	18,168	7,381	16,115	9,883
Mining And Quarrying				
1. Tin Mine Owners, Managers, etc.	8	—	214	—
2. Others in Tin Mining	543	465	70,704	4,622
Commerce, Finance And Insurance (Excluding clerks)				
1. Proprietors and Managers of Business	475	574	16,894	4,428
4. Salesmen, Shop-Assistants	541	105	16,576	3,790
Professional Occupations				
4. Barristers	2	—	10	8
5. Physicians and Surgeons	19	5	670	72
Persons engaged in Personal Service (including Clubs, Hotels)	3,181	1,473	19,983	9,584
Clerks, Office Assistants, Typists, etc.	1,518	92	7,732	3,106
Labourers (General and Indeterminate)	3,576	901	16,146	25,317

Broadly speaking, it may be stated that the bulk of Indian labour constituting the base of the pyramid is employed in the rubber industry which is the single money-crop in Malaya. Next in importance comes the labour employed in the Government and public utility services. Indians along with the Chinese share the smaller trade and business. There is a fair proportion of clerical and other wage-earning classes in the urban areas and on the plantations. The number of professional and business men on the top are relatively very small.

IV

Three-quarters of the acreage under rubber estates of over 100 acres is owned by the European capitalist. Their estates are worked by alien immigrant labour—three-quarters of which again is Indian. During the last quarter of a century, an organisation of a quasi-official nature has been built up under the dictates of the self-interest of the employers for recruiting Indian labour. The big European estates are in consequence equipped with an organised South Indian labour force which by experience is shown to be cheap and docile. There was little interruption to the flow of labour by the passing of the Indian Emigration Act in 1922. So far as the mechanism of movement was concerned, perhaps the Act did not do more than prescribe what had already been done by the Malayan immigration authorities. Nevertheless the Act meant

control over recruiting. The employer was wedded to the Kangany system of recruitment and he wanted little interference with it. Given the free flow of labour, he was not inclined to bother about the legislation. In certain other respects the Indian legislation was capable of making insidious inroads into the Malayan administration. The Indian Government was slowly being corroded with the *banal* influence of the politicians—particularly of the nationalist type whom the Colonial planter or his friend in the Colonial administration abhors. Instead of reposing the faith in the humanitarianism of the employer, the Indian Government began to demand statutory safeguards for the workers. At the same time from the International Labour Office, Geneva, came many conventions for improving the conditions of workers. The British Colonial Empire could not altogether disown the principles of the social justice which Britain was upholding in the brief post-War era of idealism. Under the pressure of the Government of India, a series of legislations were passed liberalising the Labour Code; and protection was afforded to labour against grosser forms of abuses. Whilst giving due recognition to the beneficial results accruing as a result of the intervention of an outside authority, it cannot be held that the economic condition and the status of the worker has in any way improved. The Labour legislations may be divided into two main parts. The employer had no objection to certain improvements which were

in the nature of safe and profitable investments. Of these, he was agreeable to sanitation, improvement of health conditions, control of malaria, good water supply, better housing accommodation provided he was not unduly hustled, and such other minor improvements which were conducive to better health and living for himself and his men. As a corollary to this he was prepared to bear a share in providing curative medicine and medical aid to his labour force. Maternity benefit was also not seriously objected to, though it is an increasing burden as the estate population breeds alarmingly. Education is only a sop to satisfy the conscience of the outside intervening authority. On the whole the planter is not to blame if he has treated the education of the estate children with a certain amount of cynical joke. He knows that in no civilized country is it the concern of many hundreds of private persons to educate a large number of children. The State disowned all responsibility to educate compulsorily the children of immigrant races. The planter owed no responsibility in the matter. The estate schools are no more than convenient places to stowaway the children and keep them from mischief when the parents are working on the estates. If the employer is not enthusiastic about the schools (no one blames him for that) he cannot be said to be antagonistic to it.*

* "It may be said that we are far from satisfied with questions relating to estate education, and that the Association takes the view that it is the duty of Government to

As regards the economic rights of the worker the wage-earning class was not likely to show any signs of independence. This was easily secured by the nature of labour force itself. Being an unskilled agricultural labour and also lacking in adaptability, the alternative fields of employment are limited in a country whose agricultural economy is principally based on a single agricultural produce—at any rate so far as the Indian is concerned. Such questions as wages, hours of employment and payment for overtime work, safeguarding of average monthly gross earnings, deductions to be made in the daily wages for unsatisfactory work etc. though regulated by legislation are in practice influenced by the powerful voice of the employer while, a weak labour force is unable to resist the encroachments on any of its rights. This conclusion is apparent from the perusal of the various reports of the Indian Agency which have set out many facts permissible to set out within the limits of official discretion. No useful purpose would be served in recapitulating them. Protective legislation in the economic sphere has been to a large extent rendered ineffective.

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bear more—indeed, a fairer share—of the cost of such education than it does in fact bear. For myself, I think that the grants-in-aid system should be abolished and that Government should assume financial responsibility for bearing the cost of estate education. The State foots the bill for education other than that provided by estates; and I have never understood why that section of the community comprised in estates should have been singled out for exceptional and anomalous treatment and be expected and required to contribute direct and so largely to the cost thereof."—Chairman, U. P. A. M., at the annual meeting on 30th April, 1938.

This is to be expected, having regard to the weakness of labour.

V

Next in order of importance is the labour employed outside the plantations. The places of employment are Railway, Public Works Department, Sanitary Boards, Rural Boards, the Municipalities and Harbour Boards of Singapore and Penang, the Naval Base at Singapore and a few other places. Nominally labour in these places is supposed to enjoy the protection of the Labour Department which, in practice, exercises some kind of undefined jurisdiction over the departmental protectorates. Very little is known about the conditions of their employment. An economic enquiry into their condition is urgently called for. In the absence of any published information it can only be said from all accounts based on observation, that their condition is miserable. Compared to them the labourers on plantations are in many ways better off. The rates of wages paid to this urban labour is ridiculously low. If higher wages are paid to them, then the plantation labour tends to migrate to an area where the higher rates prevail. The so-called standard rates of wages paid to estate labourers are also the wages for the urban Indian labour. 'As themselves necessarily large employers of coolie labour,' says Mr. Rupert Emerson in his recent authoritative

study of Malayan problems in his book *Malaysia*, 'the Government have a direct interest in the maintenance of low wage rates and in ignoring the generally miserable conditions of the housing supplied to the labour forces.'* The wages paid on the estates and in Government departments are interdependent and it is not to be wondered that they never tend to rise.

Here again the bulk of this class of labour is also unskilled agricultural labour which is unfit for any but lower type of menial work. It has already a lower standard of living. It is still further depressed by the continual arrival from India of the so-called voluntary emigrants. The result is that Indian labour has neither value nor price. Indian labour in short forms the lowest element in the population—a distinctly servile element in the Malayan population far removed from the Malay in his Kampong (village) and his small holdings, and the self-reliant, busy, independent Chinese labourer. To add to the confusion, there is a surplus floating labour population unaccounted for by the departmental

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* The Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri in his report on Malaya (1937) says:—

"......... I was shocked beyond words by the condition of the quarters provided for the bachelors. They consist of a stone barrack-like building which at the time of my visit was so over-crowded that it is doubtful if even the barest requirements of public health were fulfilled. Both the heat and the smell of the place were over-powering and appeared to find no easy exit. The washing accommodation was such that all used water found its way down the main steps which form the general entrance. No privacy of any sort was provided for and no wonder the place is the scene of frequent disputes and quarrels."

statistics performing odd menial jobs in all parts of Malaya. The distribution of labour population in 1936 was as follows:—

Estate labour	191,195
Mine labour	6,669
Govt. Departments including Railway	42,558

Besides this there is a certain number of labourers unaccounted for in the departmental returns. Their accurate number is not known. It is estimated to be somewhere in the neighbourhood of 50,000, if not more.

VI

Another feature of the development of Malaya with the help of the immigrant races was the importation of subordinate and clerical classes in the administration of the country. As is inevitable the Asiatic races could not be admitted to posts of trust and responsibility, but a host of subordinates were in great demand. The Malay, as usual, kept out of the fray in the earlier days. Eurasians, Chinese, Ceylonese and Indians were recruited as they were available. In the scramble for jobs the Indian was somewhat of a late comer. A section of the Ceylonese population—the Ceylon Tamils from Jaffna—were the first to penetrate into the Government Services in the F.M.S. Originally brought by certain Ceylon officials who came to construct the Railways in Malaya, the Ceylon Tamils

maintained and developed a connection with Jaffna to draw a stream of clerical classes, just as the planters began to develop the agricultural labour supply from South India. They, Ceylon Tamils, were until recently strongly entrenched in the subordinate ranks in the Government offices particularly in the F. M. S. and in the Railways, but their strongholds are being assailed by the English-educated Malays. The Ceylon Tamil is spread everywhere as he was the first in the field. The Chinese is not over fond of clerical jobs though a smaller number of Chinese 'white collars' are recently in the market. The Eurasian is a racial orphan and as such gets some measure of favoured treatment. There was no bar to the employment of an Indian. In fact in certain departments he was useful and even necessary as in the Labour Department, as interpreters in Courts and in the Medical Department. In the beginnings of the administration appointments were filled in a heterogeneous manner as talent of the order required was available.

The present position in the services is given in the statistics in the tables below. They relate to the F. M. S. which alone has a highly organised administrative machinery for over 40 years. The Unfederated Malay States have, perhaps, the same racially heterogeneous staff, but their administrations are more Malay in character with greater preference shown to the Malays. In the tables the British Indians have been shown separately from the Ceylon Tamils. The tendency is to confuse deliberately the Ceylon

Tamils with the British Indians to suit a certain type of policy.

The exclusion of Indians—to be more precise of the Asiatics—in all the superior services is complete. The only exception to this is the admission of the Malays by a system of promotion to the Malayan Civil Service. In this Service there were 212 British officers and 19 promoted Malay Officers in 1936. In all the various other superior services—Police, Drainage and Irrigation, Agriculture, Education, Medical, P. W. D., P. & T., Survey, Veterinary, Forests etc.—there were in 1936 approximately 780 European officers. There was only one Indian in this grand total. He was employed in the Medical Department and he too has since retired. Some of the figures are further interesting. In the Education Department there are nearly 123 posts, all held by non-Asiatics. There is not a single Asiatic teacher in the Superior Services. Similarly out of the 133 listed superior posts in the P. W. D., no single Asiatic is to be found.

The distribution of subordinate posts is as below. Of the 32 Indians in the table "A" below, 14 hold appointments in the Medical Department, 4 in the Veterinary Department, 4 in the Labour Department and 2 in the establishment of Court interpreters. The remaining are distributed in other departments. In the clerical services the foothold of the Indian is very slippery. The share of the other communities will decrease by the 'Malayanization' policy. The

Ceylon Tamils may for some time succeed in maintaining their fast slipping monopoly though here they are unexpectedly being assailed by the invasion of the Chinese. The figures in the lowest rung of the clerical ladder are therefore of some significance. The chances are, the Indian will be supplanted after some years by the Malays and the Chinese. On the whole the position of Indians is precarious. Similar conditions are revealed in the figures for the Posts and Telegraphs and the Railways.

The figures are for the F.M.S. only:—

A. Locally recruited officers on $250/-p.m. and upwards (Maximum $800).

Malays.	Chinese.	Eurasians.	Ceylon Tamils.	Indians.	Total.
20	22	26	81	32	181

B. F.M.S. General Clerical Service—Classification by Nationalities and Grades.

		Malays.	Chinese.	Eurasians.	Ceylon Tamils.	Indians.	Total.
Special	($210-10a-260)	4	12	3	22	5	46
1st.	($170-10a-210)	14	28	14	90	23	169
2nd.	($100-10a-160)	46	112	25	132	35	350
3rd.	($55-5a-95-5b-100)	96	211	35	141	47	530
	Total	160	363	77	385	110	1,095

C. Posts and Telegraphs Department.

F.M.S. Clerical Service—Higher Division.

Grades.	Malays.	Chi-nese.	Eura-sians	Ceylon Tamils.	Indians.	Total.
Special	2	5	2	11	2	22
First Class	2	8	5	33	28	76
Second Class	6	25	7	54	36	128
Third Class	36	57	22	49	38	202
Total	46	95	36	147	104	428

D. F.M.S. Railways.	224	196	27	878	321	1,646

The following statement was laid before the Federal Council on June 30, 1938. These are the latest figures available. In this statement Indians have been shown along with Ceylon Tamils under the group "Tamils". As is evident from the tables A to D, Indians only form a minority under the general category of "Tamils" shown in table E.

E. (i) The total number of and the amounts paid by way of salaries to **each** nationality in 1937.

	Tamils.		Chinese.		Malays.		Eurasians.		Others	
	No.	Amount. $	No.	Amount. $	No.	Amount. $	No.	Amount. $	No.	Amount. $
(a) Clerks in the General and State Clerical Services; —	537	914,394	465	592,864	336	295,225	76	100,146	21	21,691
(b) Public Works Department Overseers and Sub-Overseers:	175	147,686	3	1,264	55	31,748	3	1,932	4	3,273
(c) Teachers in Government English Schools:	102	298,442	64	177,987	24	61,055	25	65,410	10	25,858
(d) Technical Assistants: —	419	567,622	73	75,729	329	270,963	63	78,296	15	33,664
(e) Asiatic Employees in the Railway Department (excluding the menial staff): —	1,277	1,851,240	302	405,571	485	338,436	135	169,779	128	159,967
(f) Asiatic employees in the Posts and Telegraphs Department (excluding the menial staff):—	414	648,922	175	190,544	408	246,323	78	83,568	3	7,413
(g) Dressers and Hospital Assistants —	257	445,492	87	118,842	105	125,210	10	15,875	17	17,958

E. (ii)

The total number of clerks and dressers of the different nationalities recruited in 1936 and 137.

	Tamils		Chinese		Malays		Eurasians		Others	
	1936	1937	1936	1937	1936	1937	1936	1937	1936	1937
[a] Clerks:										
[i] General and State Clerical Services: —	21	42	7	51	42	60	1	9	1	1
[ii] Railway Clerical Service; —	43	28	3	15	1	38	—	11	—	6
[iii] Posts and Telegraphs Clerical Service	1	20	7	18	21	30	1	2	—	—
[b] Dressers. —	2	11	3	7	8	8	—	—	—	—

CHAPTER FOUR.

THE POLITICAL FRAMEWORK.

For the due appreciation of the political status of Indians, it is necessary to consider in some detail the political and administrative systems in the Colony, in the Federated Malay States and the Unfederated Malay States.

The area of Malaya is little less than that of Assam which has, however, very nearly twice the population that Malaya has. The Colony has an area of only 1,357 sq. miles out of the total area of 53,197 sq. miles. The remaining area is distributed in a fairly even manner between the F. M. S. and the U. M. S., the former exceeding the latter by about 3,000 sq. miles. At the end of 1936, the estimated Indian population in Malaya was 657,720. Nearly two-thirds of this number were in the F.M.S. The Colony accounted for 132,357 persons. Of this a little over 50,000 were located in each of the settlement of Penang and Singapore.

The type of Government in the Colony follows the stereotyped colonial pattern. The Governor is assisted by an Executive Council which in addition to the official members has three non-officials, one of whom is a Chinese. There is a Legislative Council with an official majority. Non-officials are nominated by the Governor. One of the non-official seats is held by an Indian member. The connection between the Colony and the States in the mainland is not very intimate.

Since the days of Raffles, the Colony is wedded to the principle of free trade. Singapore and Penang are entrepot ports and essentially places for business and commerce. The population is heterogeneous and cosmopolitan, but the Chinese outnumber all other races. Few Indians have made fortunes and some have lost them as well. The majority of the Indians are employed as labourers in the public utility services in Singapore and Penang and on the rubber estates on the mainland in Province Wellesley and in Malacca. In the quest for riches, few take interest in the constitutional questions though occasional and fitful interest is not altogether lacking. Situated on the Empire's strategic highways, it is doubtful whether experiments in democratic rule would ever be initiated. A further difficulty is, the rule of majority would result in the Asiatic communities—particularly the Chinese—ruling the non-Asiatic population who represent world-wide economic interests. Power and influence are naturally wielded by a few in the upper strata. Indian influence is non-existent. The Indian labourer lives on his bare wages as he does in the States in the interior. There are few political problems at least on the surface. How long the present conditions will last even in the unchanging Straits remains to be seen.

As soon as one enters the mainland, conditions change. In contrast to the direct rule of the Colony, the vast area covered by the nine States is indirectly ruled. The four Federated

States have a unitary organisation superimposed over the local units. The remaining five States are separate and independent entities.

II

A brief account of the Federation is of considerable importance as organised immigration of Indians has been principally to the States in the Federation. The Indian is also one of the principal contributors to the development of the Federated States. It may sound trifle irreverent, but looking back on the Colonial expansions in the nineteenth century, the penetration into the Malay States is nothing that was extraordinary or unusual. It was an inevitable and even inexorable process, having regard to the presence of the Colonial Settlements on the Western sea-board. The old world Malay States could not be left long to stew in their own juice. The only question was when the intervention should have taken place. When it did take place no one was disposed to quarrel about it. In such cases it is almost axiomatic that the intervention was overdue. The actual cause for intervention is also not of much consequence. It is of the usual familiar variety whether the western steam-roller was moving in Africa, India or in the Far East. The Malay States were then small principalities in an area of interminable mass of jungle. The country had little of the attributes of the more highly developed and civilized societies of other regions

of Asia. There was no question of any resistance to the British intervention nor to the subsequent assumption of power to administer the country in the name and on behalf of the native Rulers. Federation followed 12 years after the States passed under the tutelage of the British Administrators. Federation in Malayan terminology is really synonymous with co-ordination and centralization. A Governor who initiated the first policy of decentralization described it as an amalgamation. The economic development of the country called for this type of Federation. Capital does not always follow the flag. It requires an administration which should function in an efficient and helpful manner. The affairs of the Federation were placed in charge of a Resident-General who controlled the four Residents, who were his local agents in the States. A strong Central bureaucracy was built up at Kuala Lumpur, the Federal Capital. The States were left with litle power and initiative. They had advisory bodies in the State Councils which mostly registered the decrees that came from above.

Certain reforms were introduced in 1909. The post of Resident-General was abolished and in his place an officer styled as the Chief Secretary was appointed. This appears to have been a mere change in title as 'the first Chief Secretary in his annual report for 1910 recorded the change in title, but at the same time observed that the duties and responsibilities of the post would remain the same' (Sir Samuel Wilson in

his report on his visit to Malaya in 1932). A second change was the institution of a Federal Council with a view to bringing the non-official community—principally the planters and miners who were fast growing in numbers—into consultation with the administration. The Rulers also took their seats along with their 'nominal' subjects on this deliberative body presided over by the High Commissioner.

Soon after the War, a policy of what is familiarly termed as decentralization was pushed into the forefront. Nearly forty years of a strong centralised administration with an unlimited free hand, unhampered by any local clogs in the wheels of the administrative machinery, had resulted in the extensive development of the country and a large flow of foreign capital and alien labour which were instrumental in exploiting the economic resources of the country. The existence of the Malay was forgotten in this period of feverish activity. In the twenties of the present century the realisation grew that the Malay was pushed too far behind by the alien enterprises and the complicated administrative machinery that had grown. Everyone realised, though the distinction was only kept up in name, that there was little difference between the Colony and the F. M. S., and the latter came to be looked upon in actual practice as a Colonial administration. Some reform in administration was no doubt desirable, but to obscure the indirect rule in the States was fraught with dangerous potentialities in the near future. A

directly-ruled area will be called upon to meet many demands with the growing consciousness of the Asiatic races. It would be difficult to resist these demands, especially in view of the fact that several European Powers had to meet challenges to their over-lordship by their non-European subjects nearer to Malaya as well as in more distant parts of the Colonial Empires of the European Nations. The first step in this direction was to restore outwardly the indirect nature of the rule in the Federated States. This meant some sort of liquidation of the over-centralised machinery and the diminution of the Federal incubus now weighing heavily on the State units. There were already five un-federated units which enjoyed within limits some measure of local autonomy. The Federated States could be shown to enjoy the same kind of local autonomy if they could be freed from control from the Federal Capital. This, it was hoped, would pave the way for some kind of association of all the Malay States. Thus the system of indirect rule would be clearly and more sharply defined. In direct rule the power resides with the British Government who may be called upon to share that power with others. In indirect rule the same power rests in the local Rulers but in practice, is exercised by the British Government. The latter confers great flexibility on the donor who can utilise the gift in ways which are not possible in the directly-ruled areas. The donor can always take umbrage behind the donee.

III

It is undoubtedly true that up to a point the dictum of a great English Administrator that, administration and exploitation go hand in hand, is substantially correct. The European planter, the miner or the businessman has little enthusiasm for politics in general. He is indifferent so long as they do not cut into his interests and vociferous and hostile only when he thinks his interests are in any way threatened or jeopardised. It is therefore not to be wondered that the policy of decentralization when adumbrated by the Governor, Sir Laurence Guillemard met with not an unexpected measure of opposition. The non-official opinion (mainly European) had no objection to the bringing in the Malay into the picture and showing him up a little more prominently or in increasing the symbol and signs of the outward attributes of Malay Sovereignty or to the advancing of status, provided of course, it did not mean any advance in functions. (It is well to note the distinction between status and function). Above all it had no desire to see that the financial stability and the credit of Federation was in any way affected. This cannot be maintained *in vacuo*. It meant that there must be a strong Federal core, represented by the Chief Secretary who again must have a corps of Federal Services to assist him.

It is not proposed to follow the controversies on these and other issues relating to the policies

of decentralization either in the time of Sir Laurence Guillemard or of Sir Cecil Clementi. During the time of the latter Governor, the controversies became more acute and even violent. The Chinese capitalist interests were also made to join in the fray and the suspicions of the Chinese were heightened and encouraged owing to the supposedly hostile attitude of Sir Cecil Clementi towards *Kuomintang* when he, previous to his migration to Malaya, was Governor of Hong Kong. Sir Cecil Clementi's new policy, which he announced at a Durbar in Sri Menanti in the State of Negri Sembilan, was mainly four-fold in nature viz., decentralization of certain departments such as Agriculture, Forestry, Education, Medical, P. W. D. etc., the many others still remaining Federal, eventual abolition of the post of the Chief Secretary, a Customs Union to embrace all the nine Malay States and a Postal Board for the Federation. At a time when the non-official European was badly hit by the depression and not in best of temper, the announcement of this policy gave rise to a bitter controversy. Throughout the history of his country, the Englishman has always been a great constitutional agitator. It may be, he does not like the same weapon in the hands of the people over whom he rules. That is another matter. Anyhow here was a strange spectacle of the European non-official silently backed by a section of the officials of his own race and openly, if not without any very deep conviction, by the few Chinese in the higher

strata, carrying on an opposition against his own Government in the land of the Malay Sultans. In fighting for the retention of the post of the Chief Secretary—the keystone of the Federal structure—he momentarily forgot that he was doing a dangerous thing by teaching the Asiatic races how to organise and agitate. Did not an infuriated planter at the time of the Ilbert agitation in India ride up the steps of the Government House in Calcutta to teach a lesson to the Viceroy who was trying to heap an indignity on the ruling race? The controversy over the Ilbert Bill was the beginning of the political agitation in India. It was certainly a very dangerous precedent the planters and miners, temporarily idle being unable to gather their dollars owing to the slump, were setting up.

The position, therefore, was, the Malay Sultans had asked for some degree of local autonomy by the loosening of the strong Federal knot. One of them had even expressed a pious hope that the States within the Federation should be granted a larger measure of autonomy than the Unfederated Malay States. The alien champions of the Federation stood for its unimpaired existence. In 1932 Sir Samuel Wilson was deputed by the Colonial Office to visit Malaya and bring about a scheme which may reconcile the opposing view points and restore calm on the troubled waters. He received memoranda and deputations, listened to the differing opinions and wrote a report which was

accepted as a satisfactory compromise. With a certain amount of suavity he pointed out that 'time and experience alone will show to what extent it will be possible to assimilate the positions' of the Rulers of the Federated and Unfederated States. The latter were therefore told that they will not be compelled to enter into any kind of Malay Union. A strong case on political grounds was found to exist for giving the Rulers of the Federated Malay States control over their own domestic affairs and to this end the departments mentioned in Sir Cecil Clementi's address at the Sri Menanti Durbar were recommended to be transferred. It was laid down that it was unnecessary to visualize future developments and to define in advance further instalments of the transference of powers. The Chief Secretary was made to undergo another *avatar* (this is the third incarnation of that High Deity of the Federation). He reappeared as the Federal Secretary, with reduced emoluments, lower in order of precedence to the Residents, range of executive powers in certain comparatively non-vital departments circumscribed and the unkindest cut of all, ceased to reside in the 'Chateau de Carcosa' at Kuala Lumpur. The system of Federal finance was left safe. It however provided stages for collection and appropriation of revenues not required for Federal purposes and for the devolution of rights to impose taxation so as to meet all the State requirements without a subvention from the Central Government.

IV

Sir Samuel Wilson did no more than to make it possible to show up in increasingly bolder lines the essential features of the indirect rule in the Malay States. It had to be done by stages, for unlike in the Unfederated States, there was a large amount of European capital invested in the mines and the plantations. An omnipotent Chief Secretary as the virtual head of the four States, ill-fitted with this delineation. He would obscure everyone in the background. But the diminution in the status of the Chief Secretary did not mean any loss of efficiency in the Federal field which, after all, concerned most of the matters affecting the vested interests. These were safe in the hands of a senior officer at Kuala Lumpur. Of the subjects decentralised perhaps the Health and the P. W. Departments were of interest to the planters and miners. But these did not pass into the hands of the Malays. It is difficult to understand all the excitement when it is remembered that decentralization, shorn of all trappings, meant merely some power to the British Resident and the local heads of departments. It did not mean devolution of autonomous powers to the States and neither was there any attempt to decentralise the Services. Excessive control from the headquarters is one of the evils of bureaucratic rule and jealousy is a besetting sin of the bureaucracy. So far as the bureaucratic rule was concerned, decentralization was a step in the right

direction in that it provided for a united and co-ordinated control by the Resident. But decentralization was far from restoring even partially the autonomy of the Malay States by giving them freedom to manage their own domestic affairs.

Indians in the F. M. S. took little part in the long-drawn out controversy, but a few bodies and some individuals presented memoranda to Sir Samuel Wilson. The Selangor Indian Association, for example, actually supported the Government's policy of decentralization in the optimistic belief that more powers would be conferred on the States. What the Indians feared was the promotion of a subtle pro-Malay policy under the guise of decentralization. In order to allay the fears of the non-Malay Asiatic communities, Sir Samuel Wilson wrote in the following terms:—

> "The non-Malays who have made Malaya the country of their adoption, form a loyal section of the community and it has been the policy of the Government to accord full recognition to their status as British subjects (in the case of those born in the Colony) and British protected persons (in the case of those born in the Malay States).

> "No one will deny the important part that the non-Malays who have made Malaya their home have played in its development, and the share they are destined to

> take in helping its future progress, and I think that for this reason alone they are entitled to an assurance that their interests will not be allowed to suffer as the result of effect being given to a policy of decentralization. Moreover, subject to the policy of preferential employment of qualified Malays in the Government Services, and the reservation of sufficient lands for Malay needs, I take the view that the persons born in the Malay States of non-Malay parents (although only British protected persons) should be treated in those States in exactly the same way as persons born in the Colony of non-Malay parents (who are British subjects) and should have the same professional and business opportunities as European British subjects."

The above is often taken to be a specific assurance to the non-Malay Asiatics. Even this at present is a pious hope as it is not known how far it has been endorsed by His Majesty's Government. When closely analysed, it means little. First of all, it appears to have been written with an eye mainly on the Chinese and to assure the Chinese commercial interests that they need have no fear from the decentralization proposals. The reservations made as regards the Malay reservations and the preference to be given to the Malays in the administration are significant. A common Malayan

nationality for all the Asiatics including the Malays is negatived and only equality in professional and business opportunities is assured. This last assurance was superfluous and the restricted nature of the assurance is a convincing proof that on the political and administrative side, the Asiatic races are all aliens and they are to be studiously excluded. Their existence in the States is to be recognised on this clear and unmistakable understanding.

V

There occurs the following paragraph in the Wilson Report the significance of which requires a careful notice:—

> "Moreover it seems clear that the maintenance of the position, authority and prestige of the Malay Rulers, must always be a cardinal point in the British policy, and the encouragement of indirect rule will probably prove the greatest safeguard against the political submersion of the Malays which would result from the development of popular Government on Western lines. For in such a Government, the Malays would be hopelessly out-numbered by the other races owing to the great influx of immigrants that has taken place into Malaya during the last few years."

In 1927 Sir Hugh Clifford who was Governor at that time spoke in more emphatic terms in his first address to the Federal Council.

> "I have said that these States are, and must for ever remain essentially and primarily Malay States...............and that the welfare and well-being of the indigenous inhabitants must always be the first care of the Federal and State Governments."

Alluding to the form of Government he proceeded to lay down in these clear terms:—

> "These States were, when the British Government was invited by their chiefs and Rulers to set their troubled houses in order, Muhammadan Monarchies; such they are to-day and such they must continue to be. No mandate has ever been extended to us by Rajas, Chiefs or people to vary the system of Government which has existed in these territories from time immemorial; and in these days when democratic and socialist theories and doctrines are spreading like infection, bringing with them too often not peace but a sword, I feel it incumbent upon me to emphasise thus early in my allotted term of office, the utter inapplicability of any form of democratic or popular form of government to the circumstances of these States. The adoption of any kind of Government by majority would forthwith entail the complete submersion of the indigenous population who would find themselves hopelessly outnumbered by folk of other races."

There is no need to enter into a discussion as to the form of Government. It is extremely

unlikely that any one section alone of the immigrant races would ask for a radical change in the system of government. Indian opinion has, however, felt uneasy over the policy which makes distinction between the Malays and the non-Malay races. The Indians have generally kept away from the controversies relating to decentralization because to them it mattered little if the Chief Secretary slowly disappeared or was violently strangled. But what does matter—this aspect of the question has so far been improperly appreciated—is their position in the new order whose objective under the name of decentralization is in the direction of building up of a parochial Malay nationalism eventually resulting in the keeping out of the other races who have made Malaya their home. The Indians do not want any political favours, but the question of importance is whether they will be assimilated in the existing structure without discrimination or distinction.

VI

In the pursuit of a pro-Malay policy, it is conveniently forgotten that though "in constitutional theory and political practice, the Malay States are the land of the Malays; demographically they are at present 'no-man's land.'" The Federated Malay States are least Malay in character. This is apparent from their racial composition.

States	Per cent. to the total population. Malays.	Chinese.	Indians.
Perak	35.6	42.5	20.8
Selangor	23.1	45.3	29.2
Negri Sembilan	37.3	39.5	21.4
Pahang	61.7	29.0	8.2
F. M. S.	34.7	41.5	22.2

It is now made out as if the Malays are the victims of the alien invasions. If the alien immigrants were in any way injuring the interests of the local population, the first step that any administration would take is to restrict immigration so as to protect its own nationals. Owing to absence of labour, the door is kept open, but every new-comer is only a guest for a day or even for generations. There are in the F. M. S. three kinds of States. There is a super-federal State, which confers no federal citizenship, then there is a State territorial in nature and lastly a Malay State within that territorial State. There is a sort of duality of jurisdiction owing to lack of racial uniformity among the subjects of the Rulers. The Indians are expected to show some kind of allegiance to the Controller of Labour and the Chinese to the Protectorate of Chinese both of which are pan-Malayan establishments with jurisdiction extending throughout the Peninsula. No one need quarrel with the statements of Sir Hugh Clifford and Sir Samuel Wilson on the necessity of maintaining the States. It is relevant to ask whether the States will be maintained in the interests of

all its permanent inhabitants or of only the Malays.

The reason apparently why Sir Samuel Wilson advocated a cautious policy of decentralization was that it obviously takes time to build up a Malay opinion in the federating units and a still longer time to build up a Malay personnel in the decentralized services and its subordinate branches. It will be a long time before the dominant position of the British officialdom will meet with any challenge. The process is bound to be hastened if there is a larger infiltration of all races into the citadels of the State Governments. Unlike the northern Malay States, a Malay State with only Malay personnel would lead to much trouble owing to the predominance of the alien races. A 'pro-Malay' policy is implicit in any development of local autonomy and if its future evolution is to be based by ignoring the non-Malay Asiatic races, it cannot but be in direct opposition to the interests of the other immigrant races.

It is of some importance in further examining this question. By denying the Malayan nationality to the other immigrant races, it is sought to maintain a clear cleavage between the Malays and the non-Malays. A non-Malay born in the Colony acquires the status of British subject, but in the States he remains a British protected person no matter how many generations have passed by. On the other hand, a Malaysian from the Dutch East Indies can be naturalised as a Malay without any trouble. It

appears that a Malay nationality can only be acquired if the person is a Malay by race and professes the Islamic faith* This is not openly laid down, but such a conclusion lends colour to the interpretation as to who constitutes a Malay for the purposes of the Malay land reservations.

VII

In the statement of Sir Hugh Clifford which has been previously referred to, he describes the Malay States as Mohammedan monarchies. An acute intellect like him could not have meant that they were theocratic states which confer citizenship rights only on the true believers. Any such notion would be fantastic, because the Federation is a creation of the British Government. The injustice that may be caused by any forced interpretation will be apparent when it is recalled that there is not an inconsiderable number of Indians—less numerous, perhaps, than the Chinese—who are Malaya-born, who have lost

* A writer—presumably a Malay—in the *Malaya Tribune* of 25th May, 1938 says :—

"............only such immigrants as were of or subsequently embraced the Mohammedan faith came to be regarded as the subjects or "rayats" of the Malay Sultans..... ......

"..................an Indian or a Chinese might become a subject of any of the Rulers after proved loyalty to the State and a further condition of "adopting the Malay religion" which is universally known as "Masok Malayu."

"An Indian or a Chinese after settling down in Malaya under British Colonisation and British protection may become a British subject or British protected subject according to the English law, but it is not right to identify such a man as a subject of the Malay Rulers, unless he adopts the Malay religion, according to custom."

connection with their homes and, who are never likely to return back. This class is likely to increase in any event—whether emigration is kept open or altogether closed. By withholding recognition to the permanently settled population, of the status of Malayan nationality, a fiction is kept up that they are aliens, still sojourning in the country! How untenable the position is becomes clearer if the foreigners are eliminated. "If all foreigners were expelled from British Malaya and all the native-born returned to the State or Settlement of their birth, conditions would be extra-ordinarily changed. Kelantan would have by far the largest population and Kedah would be more populous than Perak. The population of Penang would exceed that of Singapore by 50 per cent., Selangor would contain fewer people than Pahang and the population of Selangor and Negri Sembilan combined would be smaller than that of the Kinta district (the richest tin mining centre in the world) to-day." No statement could more clearly show than the above how the foreign elements fill the great gaps in the economic interests of the country.

The denial of Malayan nationality is accompanied by another distinction which, though seemingly innocent and even rational on the surface, will undoubtedly result in creating a cleavage within the immigrant groups. This is the differentiation between the 'local-born' and the 'foreign-born'. If the 'local-born' Indians are really placed on a par with all the other 'local-

born' races including the Malays and recognised as possessing a common Malay nationality or citizenship and treated in actual practice as such, then it can be said with justice that there is a genuine attempt to protect the economic or political interests of the locally naturalised people against the invasion of outsiders. No attempt has been made to win over even this class of Indians. It is only when some Indians think loudly in the public regarding their future that inspired dummies are made to prate in the local press about the interests of the 'local-born'. Until the local Indians cease to be aliens and gain the status of the Malayans, it is the duty of Indian nationalism to see that the settlers here continue to be true Indians and to counteract any attempts which seek to divide one section of Indians from another. The status of an immigrant is just the same—whether resident for long or is only a recent arrival. The two devices viz., non-recognition of Malayan nationality in the case of the Indians and the attempt to divide the population into local-born and others, are the main instruments in the active if somewhat hidden working of the pro-Malay policy behind the scheme of decentralization in the F. M. S.

It has been shown elsewhere how the labour and the land policy are worked and how detrimental they are to the interests of the immigrants. In spite of the protective legislation, the condition of the Indian labourer remains

low. Labour flows in and out of the country through an inlet and outlet pipe. By this means a large army of alien labour is brought in to exploit the country. The elements deposited by the labour currents are the unwanted silts for which no one has any use. It is nobody's concern what happens to them. Labour is an amorphous mass eking a livelihood and it will be many years before it can gain self-respect and independence. The immigrant cannot get any permanent title to acquire land and neither can he share the land in the reserves which are meant to keep him out.

No responsibility has been accepted to educate the children of the immigrant races. Education in the estate schools is purely illusory. Education is hopelessly inadequate in the urban areas. In spite of the richness of the country, meagre sums have been released for social services. Educational services are withheld as a corollary to the non-recognition of the other races as being a part of the Malayan Society. By denying education, a tremendous opportunity is being missed for building up a stable and homogeneous society and the fear that education has been the root cause of all the trouble in India, Ceylon and elsewhere is responsible to keep down mass literacy. If education breeds discontent, it can on the whole be controlled by reason, knowledge and understanding, but darkness and ignorance will ultimately breed sinister and dangerous forces against which bayonets in the long run will be of little avail. The

cry for education is attributed to baser motive which is of obtaining mere jobs at the expense of the unprotected Malay. It is forgotten that education should be for all Malayans and not for the Malays by race and religion alone and that what is needed is equal chance for all, subject to any protection to the Malays for a reasonable period without inflicting injury to the permanent interests of the other races and without discrimination as between Malay and non-Malay races.

VIII

It is the much advertised boast of Malaya, that there is a complete absence of colour-bar. There is no occasion for the manifestation of racial superiority in a cruder form because there are no poor whites to be protected against an invasion of cheap alien labour, and no white permanent settlers whose interests would certainly clash with those of the non-whites. The European has already a large area of land alienated for his use and therefore the Reservations hardly affect his interests. He has no interests in the colonial education because his children are educated outside the tropics. If he is a member of the Administrative service, he receives an educational bounty towards the cost of education. The White population in Malaya belongs to the official and trading and business communities and has no local ties or connections which a permanently settled population would

have. In the economic sphere too, there is no discernible colour bar for the Chinese have been given a free hand in the development of the country. It is only on the administrative side where the political power rests that colour bar is to be prominently seen. This is of course denied, but its existence cannot but be seen, felt and experienced.

The door to the Malayan Civil Service is barred and bolted to the Asiatics. Those Malays who are admitted into its ranks as a mark of favour and not as a matter of right, are not allowed to rise over Class III Grade. This means they can never hold any post of trust and responsibility. The time when even the Malays can hold posts in the different services in their own country is conveniently postponed to the Greek Kalends. The argument is, the Malay is not yet ready to assume responsibility. The other races are too quick-witted and moreover they are ineligible to hold posts in a Malay State. So others should carry on the burden which cannot be transferred to any other than the nominated beneficiary.

IX

The presence of the Indian has been dismissed in a most cavalier fashion in all the constitutional reforms. Indian interests were affected by the changes made in the constitution of the State and Federal Councils. The State Councils lacked an element of reality and vitality before

the Decentralization Scheme came into force. The Federal Council has always occupied an important position. In this body there was no Indian member till 1927. Sir Laurence Guillemard tried to exclude Indians by enunciating a negative proposition that there were no Indian mine or rubber estate owners. Local officialdom questioned the necessity of an Indian representative when there was a Controller of Labour to look after the Indians—particularly the labourers. The most important reform initiated by Sir Laurence Guillemard was that of enlarging the Federal Council. At the same time a new treaty was entered into by the four Rulers of the Federated States and they withdrew from active participation in the proceedings of the Federal Council in which however they had previously taken little part. Sir Hugh Clifford who followed him appointed the first Indian member to the Federal Council, but he attached an altogether irrelevant rider that the seat could be held by the Ceylon Tamils as well. In the scheme of decentralization the State Councils have been invested with a certain amount of power and the composition of the Council has been widened by the inclusion of non-officials of different races. With the exception of Pahang, Indians are numerically strong in the remaining States of the Federation. Yet their right for representation has never been specifically recognised. An Indian was a member of the Perak State Council, but he was replaced by a Ceylon Tamil. In Selangor, a Cey-

lon Tamil was appointed to a seat formerly held by an Indian member. This necessitated an amendment of the constitution of the State Council by defining a British Indian to include a Ceylon Tamil as well. To the protests of the Indian community, the authorities replied that the Indians had no right for a seat and they were at liberty to define the term *Indian* as they liked. The result is that in Selangor and Perak the Indian seats are held by the Ceylon Tamils and in Negri Sembilan by a British Indian. Clementi introduced a principle that a member of the Federal Coluncil should also be a member of one of the State Councils in the Federated States. It is only a next step, therefore, to displace the Indian member of the Federal Council by a Ceylon Tamil.

There are numerous public bodies, boards and Committees to which the membership is by nomination. No principle is followed in nominating Indians to bodies in which their interests are affected. The main reason appears to be that the Indian community does not supply an adequate number of pliant and obedient men. Not that the Indian is politically aggressive in Malaya. He does not unfortunately give sufficient demonstrations of the qualities to please the 'bosses'. He cannot be trusted to be subservient. The presumption unless strongly rebutted to the contrary by strict and convincing proofs, is, the Indian carries political infection in him. He is to be quarantined and watched lest he should spread infection to others. Again

there is no need to search for a safe man among the suspects. Any number of 'yes-men', are readily available from other sources. Indians can even be created by definition. It is not that the Indian wants these seats to wield power. Even if ten Indians were to be put on these bodies or better still ten Chinese or Malays it makes not the slightest difference to the administration. Indians know they are one of the minorities in the country. They do not want any favours. What they feel is the underlying spirit and attitude towards them, which can only be described as one of contempt. Indians are now gradually getting over their sensitiveness to these treatments and are developing a more realistic attitude by disdaining favours and developing sufficient strength in themselves to stand united as a community regardless of frowns or favours.

X

How convenient it is to deny any citizenship rights to the immigrants is strikingly illustrated in the practical working of the Banishment Enactment in the Malay States. A similar law is in force in the Colonies where, however, it cannot be used against a natural-born subject of His Majesty. In the States it can be used against anyone including the Malay. Thus a Malay born in Perak is an alien in Selangor for the purposes of the banishment enactment. The law itself is of a most sweeping character. It is one of the few enactments which has not got

any safeguards or restrictions. The working of the enactment is outside the purview of the courts. A person is not entitled to know why he is being banished. It does not penalise any particular class or any particular political or public body. It is based and worked on the fundamental principle that no man has a citizenship in the Malay States and that every person (even including a Malay in certain circumstances) is living in a 'no-man's' land. It is not known whether to applaud the universality of its application to all or the absurdity of its basic conception. One is not concerned whether a criminal, or a member of a Chinese Secret Society or the ring leaders in a labour strike or political agitators are banished under this beneficent enactment. In every civilized country, it is at least conceded that even these undesirables have a home. America does not send back all the gangsters of Chicago to Central and Eastern Europe—the countries of their origin. It is of interest at least to know the rationale of this enactment if not the actual scope of its working. Many thousands of people have been banished under this enactment during the last three decades.*

"..................the sweeping character of the powers conferred is obvious. Nor are they powers which are over-sparingly brought into action: according to figures which were officially furnished me, no less than 20,097 persons were banished from the Straits, the F.M.S., Johore and Kedah from 1911 to 1931 inclusive. In recent years the number of banishees has steadily risen, presumably in relation with the increase in political activity." (pp. 508, footnote in *Malaysia* by Rupert Emerson)

One way of safeguarding the civil liberties of the immigrants who come to the Malay States is by removing all obstacles to the enjoyment of those liberties.

XI

The Unfederated Malay States have managed to retain a certain amount of individuality due to historical accidents. The four northern States of Kelantan, Trengganu, Perlis and Kedah were under the Suzerainty of Siam. The Siamese Government transferred 'all rights of Suzerainty, protection, administration and control whatsoever' which they possessed over these States to Great Britain by a treaty in 1909. The remaining State—perhaps the most important of all the Malay States in the Peninsula—Johore, came into the Malayan political system in 1914 by the acceptance of a General Adviser. With local variation the essential system of Government in all these States is that the States are required to receive a British Officer 'whose advice must be asked and acted upon on matters affecting the general administration of the country and on all questions other than those touching Malay religion and custom.' The key positions are held by a small corps of British civilian and administrative officers sufficient enough to constitute the 'steel frame' of the local administrative machinery. The Malays fill the remaining positions. It is accepted that preference should be given to qualified Malays.

Consequently the British officers are considerably less in number than in the Federated States. While conceding a small measure of autonomy to satisfy local feelings, the substance of power is really wielded by the British authorities, particularly in all all-Malayan matters. In Johore, in particular, the exercise of that paramount power is subject to considerable local restraint and ordinarily it does not override the strongly expressed desires of the ruler. To some extent therefore the influence of the local opinion acts as a check on the untrammelled exercise of power by the British officials.

The racial composition of the Unfederated Malay States again differs from the Federated States. In Johore and Kedah, there have been extensions of capitalistic enterprises in the last two decades. Rubber planting was started somewhat late in Johore. The Chinese have penetrated considerably into this State. They own 351 rubber estates of 100 acres as against 52 owned by Indians. In South and Central Kedah there are large European plantations. Out of the 87 non-Asiatic estates, 70 are owned by Public Limited Liability Companies. The Chinese own 154 private estates and the Indians 37. These facts account for the penetration of the Indian and Chinese elements in these States. Kelantan, Trengganu and the tiny Perlis have very few estates. The small Indian population consists of labourers employed in the estates. The following table gives the statistics for the different races in the States:—

	Per cent. to the total population		
	Malays	Chinese	Indians
Johore	46.4	41.4	10.1
Kedah	66.6	18.2	12.0
Perlis	80.9	13.2	2.0
Kelantan	91.2	4.9	1.9
Trengganu	91.5	7.4	0.8
U. M. S.	69.2	21.7	7.3

The last three of the above States remain as typical Malay States and their affairs are not complicated by the intrusion of the aliens. They are mainly agricultural areas principally growing paddy. Between them and the Federated States stand Johore and Kedah so far as the problems of the immigrants are concerned. There is no secret of Kedah's disregard or dislike for the non-Malays. Unlike the Federation even the subordinate posts are reserved for the Kedah Malays. Even the British planter has no representation on the State Council. The State's policy is to prevent any encroachment by the alien Chinese and Indians whose numbers are slowly on the increase. This is seen in the land policy. The total area of the State is 3,660 sq. miles, and the area of Malay reservations is 1,956 sq. miles. The forest reserves are accounted for by 940 sq. miles. Rubber, rice and other crops account for only 945 sq. miles. A balance of 1,775 sq. miles of State land is still available for alienation.

The conditions of Johore are somewhat more complex. Though a very important Malay

State, its economic development has resulted in the rapid outnumbering of the Malays by the non-Malays. Javanese immigration is freely encouraged to alter this state of affairs, but the effect of such policy has been somewhat unappreciable. The State has an elaborate constitution. European planting interests have representation on the State Council. One Ceylon Tamil has found a place on this body. Indians here as well as in Kedah will have to remain content as labourers and the conditions for the advancement of their status are not favourable. At any time the Malay can turn round and say with some justification that they are there in the interests of their European employers. The Malay has no concern with their presence.

XII

Colonial policies vary. So far as the Indian is concerned, there is an underlying unity of purpose in their application in all those Colonial areas where Indians are found to-day. The presence of Indians should somehow be rendered innocuous and the Indian problem soon *liquidated.* The experience of Africa has shown that Indians create thorny minority problems and claim equality of rights with the ruling race. For the protection of its own interests, the ruling power has been compelled in recent years to take under its protecting wing the indigenous local group and assume trustee-ship of the rights and interests of that group on the

ground that the same rights and interests of the immigrant settlers are antagonistic to the economic and cultural interests of the indigene. In East Africa it is the African native, in the Pacific it is the Fijian and in Malaya it is the Malay. Indian opinion exasperated by the segregation of Indians with complete colour bar may feel inclined to think that in another place the absence of colour bar may mean complete absence of discrimination, with equal juridical and social conditions for all races. Practical considerations prevent the complete adoption of the former and lip sympathy is no doubt given to the latter. Colour bar becomes a prominent issue when the interest of the immigrants clashes with those of the dominant group. There cannot be much source of conflict between a ruling race and a backward wage-earning class. So long as this immigrant group does not create any minority questions its presence is not unwelcome. A larger settlement of Indians in this country is bound to create many intricate problems in course of time. The position has been candidly put in a recent study of Colonial questions.

"...........the existence of racial minorities is a fruitful cause in the Colonial areas and the authorities are reluctant to create new ones. Indians have played a considerable part in the opening up of Africa and they naturally believe that they still have a considerable part to play. The European answer in practice is that the existence of the Indian community complicates

administration, that the Indian, with his superior book knowledge, tends to exploit the native and that Indian customs and ways are unsuitable in Africa; the assumption being that the European trader or settler does not create the same difficulty since the difference between him and the native is taken to be unbridgeable. Contentions of this kind, though clear to the European mind, are less obvious to the Indian —they could be maintained with more force if the policy of 'Africa for the Africans' excluded white settlers and petty traders and permitted only technical and official persons. Difficult questions arise whenever there are large numbers of alien immigrants when social and religious traditions and standards of life are incompatible with local culture. The situation of Chinese in Malaya, of Indians in Fiji, of Japanese in the Philippines......all present their special problems."

The Indian problem in Malaya is in the making, but it is in a stage at which we can give it a turn and thereby avoid the fate of the earlier settlers in some of the other Colonies. The reference to the Fijian Indians is also of significance. In Fiji, where Indians who return three elected members to the Legislative Council, are almost as numerous as the Fijians (99,953 Fijians against 85,892 Indians: total population 202,052 in December, 1935). The Indian minority is likely to become a majority and hence the threatened conflict. Some conflict is latent in the Malayan population also. This is not

a fanciful picture, but one that deserves serious consideration.

"The ethnic composition of the Pacific is not what it was a quarter of a century ago and it is difficult to see how the tendencies of to-day, the tendencies which are converting the Pacific groups into off-shoots of Asia, will be changed in the next quarter of a century. The fruit of the labour policies of the past is now being reaped and they have shown to have produced a crop of social and political and racial and international problems in no wise contemplated by those who brought Japanese to Hawaii, Indians to Fiji, Chinese to Samoa and Tahiti and Annamites to French group." (S. H. Roberts: *Population Problems of the Pacific*).

As Mr. Roberts says it is the labour policy of these undeveloped Colonies that are the source of all troubles. Indian emigration policy should therefore be based on national interest and not subordinated to the labour requirements of an undeveloped Colony. Indian labour has played its part in the development of Malaya. The time has now come to take stock of the situation and decide whether our labour should be associated at all with the future development of the country and if so on what conditions and understanding.

CHAPTER FIVE.

THE FUTURE OF EMIGRATION.

In the preceding pages an attempt has been made to give an imperfect sketch of the course of Indian immigration to Malaya during the last half a century and to view in perspective the conditions which have grown or arisen as a direct consequence of the movement of Indians to this country. This is not a history of Indian immigration to Malaya, nor is it a historical account of Malaya. It is also not the intention to evaluate critically the net result of the movement of Indians, nor to assess the extent of material benefits which, if any, have accrued to the Indians. The scope of the enquiry has been limited to a small compass. The country from which emigration takes place should know the conditions of the country to which her nationals emigrate and the changing economic and political conditions in the latter country. The movement of people from one country to another creates complex social, economic and political problems. It is suicidal to ignore them.

The complexities of Malayan conditions have never yet been properly understood. It is a new country in the making. Its administrative systems are diverse. Its diversity in an all-Malayan uniformity will be skilfully utilised in alternating policies to suit particular cases. The economic structure is simple, but unstable. So is the population. The country is in a transitory stage

in the course of its passage to more settled and stable conditions. It is undecided whether it should shake off the alien incubus altogether or retain one or the other or both. If any retention is desirable, then it should be so arranged that the presence of the alien element should be as innocuous as possible and should in no way threaten the higher interests. The forces should be so dispersed and controlled that no awkward social or political or economic problems should ever arise. If sufficient indigenous resistance is stimulated against the alien elements, then the menace due to the presence of these aliens will be considerably minimised. The alien element is harmless as long as it helps the exploitation of the country without the slightest interest in the country and returns to its home, from which it came, quietly and silently.

II

During the last 15 years since a popular Assembly was constituted at Delhi, the Malayan problems came for public discussion before that Assembly on one occasion only. That was in the year 1923 when emigration of unskilled workers to Malaya was made lawful by a resolution of the Central Legislature. A perusal of the debate to-day shows how little our people knew of Malaya at that time.

The members swallowed some carefully prepared platitudes of the Malayan deputation. The voice of one Cassandra was drowned in the

chorus of approval of members who a few months later were swept away by the nationalist elements then surging into the Legislative Chambers. The dissentient voice of Mr. K. Ahmed is true to-day as it was 15 years ago. He pleaded on the authority of Mr. H. S. L. Polak that India ought not to consent to the emigration of Indians unless any scheme acceptable to Indians does not genuinely partake of the nature of colonisation and is not merely a camouflaged system of labour emigration. Another weighty opinion of Mr. Polak was also not heeded to. Mr. Polak was quoted as having said:

"I think that as news of conditions in Malaya is gathered, sifted and published, Indian opinion will realise more and more that so long as Indian emigration is practically confined to ill-paid and worse-organised labouring classes, no real equality of citizenship is possible or even to be expected. Even a clean Statute Book cannot bring this about. Status is not merely a matter of law; it is still one more of facts."

Since then many great changes have taken place in India and many more are imminent in the near future. It would be in the fitness of the new order of things, if a thorough examination were to be undertaken on the future of the emigration of Indian nationals on national lines and in the larger interests of the Indian people themselves. Of one thing it seems clear. India should turn her face away resolutely from the unhappy legacies of the nineteenth century

which prostituted her manpower for the economic exploitation of the undeveloped Colonies. Any movement of Indians should primarily be based on the highest self-interest of her people and the needs and requirements of other countries must only be a secondary consideration.

It would be presumptuous to put forth any schemes for a national policy for overseas colonization and emigration. That is a task pre-eminently for India's statesmen. In shaping that policy, however, the colonists can assist the mother country in acquainting her with the particular problems of her own nationals as well as the general conditions of the immigrant country and render any service that may be of assistance to the Indian leaders in matters that affect the present as well as the future prospects of the Indians in any immigrant country.

III

Though Malaya forms the extreme south of the great continent of Asia and together with Sumatra, Java, Bali etc. forms a hooked peninsula attached to Farther India and though the civilization of Malayan Archipelago has been fertilized by cultural contacts from India, yet the gravitating effect of the present day political forces is shifting these regions to the Pacific area using the term in a wide sense to include the mainland of Eastern Asia, the East Indies and Oceania. They may, in course of time, come to have little in common with the mainland of Asia. Few Indians are established in

the Pacific regions except in Fiji. A question of considerable interest is whether the migratory thrust from India into this region will ultimately be to the good of the Indians or will it be another irrelevant and soon-forgotten episode in the haphazard movement of Indians overseas. It should be remembered that in recent times there have been large-scale migratory movements in the Pacific area, as for example of the Chinese to Malaya, Netherland Indies and Oceania. There have been Japanese and Annamite Settlements in the same regions. From China migratory movements have been particularly widespread. Until 1930, there had been for many decades a fairly constant movement outward of Chinese labourers and traders to other Pacific areas. Many labourers were temporary emigrants but some remained to increase the already large Chinese population in East Indian countries, Malaysia and the Pacific. Of these remaining abroad, there are one and three-fourths millions in Netherland Indies, one and three-fourths millions in Malaya and perhaps three-fourths million in Siam and Indo-China.

It is often assumed with a good deal of complacency that emigration from India is after all to the good as it results in affording some relief to the areas congested with over-population. Actual facts do not, however, support this belief. The number of Indians abroad is equal to little more than two-thirds of the average annual increase of the population of

India between 1921 and 1931. Therefore, concludes Professor Carr-Saunders that 'though Indian emigration has great political significance, it is numerically negligible in relation to the total population problem.' It is true that the penetration of the Asiatics has rapidly taken place into the Colonial areas in the Pacific Zone and the problem of acclimatisation does not present difficulties to the people of Southern China and India. But these Colonial Settlements are hampered by direct as well as indirect ways. Difficulties arise such as the assimilability of immigrants, availability of land for settlements, creation of minority problems, and strong reaction, often artificially stimulated, on the part of the existing native populations against the immigrants to the prejudice of the latter. Consequently the relief purported to be sought through emigration is actually turned into a struggle for existence.

In the case of India, emigration to Colonial countries cannot even result in a partial solution of her difficulties.* Of this the Japanese are fully

*"The numbers that would have to emigrate annually in order to remove even a substantial fraction of the natural increase are so enormous that the task of transporting them would be quite impossible, to say nothing of the other difficulties involved. The annual surplus of births over deaths in India alone was more than 3 millions during the decade 1920-1930. Further, there is reason to think that the relief so given would only be temporary.........The fact that emigration is no solution and perhaps not even a palliative except in the case of a country such as Japan whose births are coming under control, does not rule it out as an important question. For there are problems of international justice involved and it may also be that opportunities for emigration would have important psychological results." Carr-Saunders—*World Population*, pages 293-294).

conscious and they have sought and seek relief in the expansion of trade and industry rather than in emigration, though in recent years the Government have provided excellent facilities and a well-thought-out scheme of emigration.

The Japanese population living abroad are mostly farmers and small traders There is no Japanese *coolie* labour. The number of Japanese living abroad on October 1, 1934 was estimated at 873,000 of whom 340,000 were living in Asiatic countries, 209,000 in South America and 140,000 in Oceania. The number of Japanese of all classes, emigrants and non-emigrants leaving Japan has not been more than 20,000 or 30,000 a year since policies of severe restriction were adopted by Canada, the United States of America, Australia and certain other States. Even before that, there was little inclination to emigrate. Japanese emigration is based on the following principles:—

1. The encouragement of emigration of persons with a certain amount of capital (hitherto Japanese emigrants have principally been workers without capital).
2. The policy of assimilation. Japanese migrants had generally gone to foreign countries with the intention of returning to Japan. The new policy was to encourage the permanent residence of emigrants in the foreign country and to further their assimilation.
3. The provision to intending emigrants of better information on conditions in the

country of immigration, to prevent wastage of savings by ill-judged expenditure on arrival in the new country. An institution was set up in Kobe for the purpose of giving brief instruction.*

IV

Whatever may be the future trend of a national policy of emigration, the policy underlying the emigration of unskilled labourers whose position is likely to be unsatisfactory needs a great orientation. In the present century the inter-continental movements from India have ceased. The distant Colonies to which Indians went, have ceased to receive accessions through free movement. An intra-continental movement has been developed between India and Malaya and Ceylon. This is largely a movement of unskilled labour and is consequently subject to a certain measure of control. Uninformed opinion in Malaya is often inclined to complain even against the mild provisions of the Indian Emigration Act. It only has to be reminded of the restriction and control in operation particularly after the War in respect of European Continental migration. The common form of control is over immigrants, but measures have been taken to keep down the volume of emigration if not to enforce decrees of absolute prohibition of emigration. Regulation of migration is one aspect of the question. The other aspect, largely constructive in its outlook, relates to the

treaties and conventions regulating the movement of workers. These agreements were particularly developed by France after the War. They are usually bilateral and these bilateral agreements 'whether they take the form of treaties or conventions, cover the recruitment of labour in one country and the placing of it in the other, model labour contracts, reciprocity in relation to labour laws and other matters. All these matters may be included in a single agreement or they may even be the subject of a special agreement.' The agreements may contemplate seasonal migration alone, or they may contemplate permanent migration as well. The treaty between Germany and Poland is an example of the first kind. It laid down that the future movement should be seasonal or temporary only, and that the migration of agricultural workers alone is contemplated. The German Government fixes a maximum for all seasonal workers each year and the number to be recruited is communicated to the Polish Government and an agreement is arrived at. The various rights of immigrants are guaranteed by the German Government. Each migrant has a contract of employment with a specified employer before he sets out and this contract is drawn up on the lines of the model labour contract which forms part of the treaty. The Franco-Polish Treaty governs both permanent and seasonal as well as with collective and individual migration. Though in form reciprocal, in practice it works out that the Conventions apply only to Polish immigrants in France, since there is no

movement in the opposite direction. The most interesting feature of these agreements is the provision for collective migration; for what is attempted is an organised attempt to meet a definite and ascertained need for labour in one country by the recruitment of appropriate workers in sufficient quantity in another country. Through the medium of model contracts with which the individual contract that each migrant has to possess must conform, social justice is safeguarded to the alien worker who is not in danger of exploitation in a foreign land where he does not know how to protect himself.* These conventions are most comprehensive and provide for governmental regulations on many matters which would astonish those who chafe at the innocuous provisions of the Indian Emigration Act.

If after a thorough and careful examination of all aspects of the question, Nationalist India comes to a decision that she should permit unskilled workers to emigrate to Malaya, then a bilateral Convention between India and Malaya based on such general lines would go a long way in placing the whole question of the seasonal immigration of Indian labour on a more satisfactory footing. There is often a foolish talk on the inadvisability of placing restrictions on the movements of His Majesty's subjects. In the modern States men are neither free to come nor go. A bilateral agreement between India and Malaya of

* The above has been summarised from Chapter XII of *World Population* by Carr-Saunders.

a comprehensive nature would be more in consonance with the present-day conditions consistent with the dignity and status of the present-day India and above all in the highest interests of her nationals who migrate for a short period to enrich the economic life of a foreign country by their labour. The present position is extremely unreal. It gives rise to unseemly wrangling and fictitious bargaining without any tangible results. India is supposed to have initiative, but in practice she is always a suppliant. There is no precise understanding on any question and the fate of her nationals is entrusted to the goodwill of the Colony. Every Indian knows with what result.

APPENDIX A.

Growth of Indian population in Malaya 1901—1931 (Census)

	1901	1911	1921	1931
Straits Settlements	57,150	82,055	104,628	132,277
Federated Malay States	58,386	172,465	305,219	379,996
Unfederated Malay States	—	12,639	61,781	111,736
Total—Malaya	115,536	267,159	471,628	624,009

The Indian population of Malaya on April 1, 1931, as given in the Census Report was 624,009 whose distribution according to the Provinces of Indian origin was as follows:—

1. Madras Presidency (inclusive of the adjacent States):		
(i) Tamil	514,959	
(ii) Telugu	32,541	
(iii) Malayalee	35,125	582,625
2. Punjab		31,001
3. United Provinces		1,898
4. Bengal		1,833
5. Bombay		1,388
6. Rest of India including Burma and Nepal		5,264

APPENDIX B.

(1) The total Indian population at the end of the year 1937 as estimated by the Registrar-General of Statistics, S.S. & F.M.S., was as follows:—

Straits Settlements ...		152,131
Federated Malay States ...		470,278
Unfederated Malay States:		
Johore	59,820	
Kedah	61,844	
Kelantan	7,964	
Trengganu ...	1,476	
Perlis	1,088	
Brunei	248	132,440
Total—Malaya ...		754,849

(2) Estate population on December 31, 1937:—

	Males.	Females.	Dependants.	Total
S.S. ...	11,925	5,401	6,904	24,230
F.M.S. ...	104,442	51,283	77,016	232,741
Unfederated Malay States:				
Johore	28,908	10,778	12,811	52,497
Kedah	19,038	9,215	13,504	41,757
Perlis	173	97	111	381
Kelantan	1,821	920	996	3,737
Total	166,307	77,694	111,350	355,343

APPENDIX C.

Population of Malaya by nationalities, 1911 — 1931.

	MALAYS		
	1911	1921	1931
Singapore ...	46,952	58,520	71,177
Penang ...	114,441	110,382	118,832
Malacca ...	72,978	78,813	95,307
Total S.S. ...	240,206	255,353	285,316
Perak ...	199,034	239,128	272,546
Selangor ...	64,952	91,787	122,868
Negri Sembilan	69,745	77,648	87,195
Pahang ...	87,109	102,258	111,122
Total F.M.S.	420,840	510,821	593,731
Johore ...	109,983	157,852	234,422
Kedah ...	197,702	237,031	286,262
Perlis ...	29,598	34,165	39,831
Kelantan ...	268,914	286,363	330,774
Trengganu ...	149,553	145,523	164,564
Total U.M.S.	755,750	860,934	1,055,853
Total Malaya	1,416,796	1,627,108	* 1,962,021

* Includes the population of Brunei (U.M.S.) and people unlocated on December 31, 1931.

APPENDIX C. *(Cont.)*

Population of Malaya by nationalities, 1911 — 1931.

	CHINESE		
	1911	1921	1931
Singapore ...	222,655	317,491	421,821
Penang ...	111,738	135,288	176,518
Malacca ...	35,450	45,768	65,179
Total S.S. ...	369,843	498,547	663,518
Perak ...	217,206	224,586	325,527
Selangor ...	150,908	170,687	241,351
Negri Sembilan	40,843	65,171	92,371
Pahang ...	24,287	34,104	52,291
Total F.M.S.	433,244	494,548	711,540
Johore ...	63,410	97,253	215,076
Kedah ...	33,746	59,403	78,415
Perlis ...	1,627	3,602	6,500
Kelantan ...	9,844	12,755	17,612
Trengganu ...	4,169	7,246	13,254
Total U.M.S.	112,796	180,259	330,857
Total Malaya	915,883	1,173,354	1,709,392 *

* Includes the population of Brunei (U.M.S.) and people unlocated on December 31, 1931.

APPENDIX C. *(Cont.)*

Population of Malaya by nationalities,
1911 — 1931.

	INDIANS		
	1911	1921	1931
Singapore ...	27,990	32,456	51,019
Penang ...	46,565	53,339	58,020
Malacca ...	7,500	18,833	23,238
Total S.S. ...	82,055	104,628	132,277
Perak ...	73,539	130,324	159,152
Selangor ...	74,067	132,545	155,924
Negri Sembilan	18,248	33,658	50,100
Pahang ...	6,611	8,692	14,820
Total F.M.S.	172,465	305,219	379,996
Johore ...	5,659	24,180	51,038
Kedah ...	6,074	33,004	50,824
Perlis ...	114	811	966
Kelantan ...	731	3,575	6,752
Trengganu ...	61	211	1,371
Total U.M.S.	12,639	61,781	110,951
Total Malaya	267,159	471,628	* 624,009

* Includes the population of Brunei (U.M.S.) and people unlocated on December 31, 1931.

APPENDIX D.

The annual average daily price of rubber per lb. and the wage rates of South Indian labour since 1922.

Year.	Singapore (cents)	London (sterling)	Daily wage rates in Straits cents. (The denominator represents the wages of female labour)
1922	20.85	$9\frac{1}{8}$	40/30
1923	52.07	1.3 5/16	40/30
1924	47.36	$1.1\frac{7}{8}$	40/30
1925	119.97	2.11 1/16	45/35
1926	80.06	$1.11\frac{3}{4}$	45/35
1927	64.27	1.6 7/16	45/35
1928	36.79	10 11/16	45/35
1929	34.48	$10\frac{1}{4}$	50/40
1930	19.31	5 29/32	40/32
1931	9.96	3 11/64	30/27
1932	7.01	2 11/32	26/22
1933	10.23	$3\frac{1}{4}$	32/26
1934	20.70	6 7/32	35/28
1935	20.27	6	35/28
1936	27.03	$7\frac{3}{4}$	40/32
1937	32.09	$9\frac{1}{2}$	50/40

The wage rates shown above are for tappers and weeders who form the vast majority of labourers on the estates. The highest average figures for the year have been shown. The actuals have been less by localities and periods. At the instance of the Government of India a number of enquiries were continued from 1924 to 1928. Finally the rates of 50 cents for men and 40 cents for women were fixed with the approval of the Government of India. These rates had legal force only in certain selected areas known as the 'Key' areas. Elsewhere they were nominal. The effect of the slump is seen in the rates from 1930.

APPENDIX E.

Migration Statistics.

There is a fairly accurate record of the arrivals and departures between India and Malaya from 1901. In 1910, the last batch of immigrants executed indentures and the last indenture expired in 1913. Besides the labourers recruited by any recognised or valid methods of recruitment, a considerable proportion of labourers have been coming to Malaya paying their own passage and these are included in the numbers shown under the deck passengers. This proportion appears to be fairly constant and is aproximately 65 to 70 per cent. of the number shown under that head. The figures for 1901 to 1931 are:—

	Labourers	Other deck passengers	Total.
1901—1910			
Arrivals ...	227,157	254,469	481,626
Departures			256,549
Balance		*Plus*	225,077
1911—1921			
Arrivals ...	429,350	136,748	566,098
Departures			349,950
Balance		*Plus*	216,148

1921—1931			
Arrivals	619,864	260,643	880,507
Departures			695,156
Balance		*Plus*	185,351

These figures indicate the immense labour turnover and at the same time the enormous waste of human effort in trying to eke out a bare living in an oversea country. The figures for particular years also furnish a good index as to the economic prosperity of Malaya. In the post-War depression of 1921, the number of South Indian immigrants was 45,673 and the departures were 61,551. The figures for several other past years are as below:

	Arrivals.	Departures.	Difference.
1914	51,217	63,073	— 11,856
1919	101,433	47,767	+ 54,666
1928	63,072	91,252	— 28,180
1929	114,252	76,854	+ 37,398
1930	69,114	151,755	— 82,641
1931	19,692	101,547	— 81,855
1932	17,734	84,501	— 66,767
1934	89,828	28,608	+ 61,220
1935	65,191	38,869	+ 26,322
1937	122,566	45,167	+ 77,399

The strong flow back to Madras from 1930 onwards was due to wholesale repatriation during the period of depression. This was arrested from 1934 owing to the howl of the planters to have the men back with the gradual return of prosperity

on the plantations. A record number was imported in 1937 owing to signs of high prosperity which, however, proved to be of a transient nature.

For the purposes of comparison the total arrivals and departures of Chinese deck passengers to and from Malaya during the past several years are given below:—

	Arrivals.	Departures.	Difference.
1929	264,591	164,826	+ 99,765
1930	218,868	199,800	+ 19,068
1931	79,085	212,900	— 133,815
1932	33,534	161,809	— 128,275
1933	28,464	86,555	— 58,091
1934	109,267	68,129	+ 41,138
1935	145,853	69,025	+ 76,828
1937	243,304	66,502	+ 176,802

APPENDIX F.

Protection of Labour in Malaya

(1) CHINESE

The Chinese Protectorate administers the Societies Ordinance and Enactments, various Ordinances and Enactments in connection with the protection of Women and Girls, the Labour Ordinance and the Labour Code (so far as Chinese employees are concerned). In addition, it is called upon for advice and assistance in a multiplicity of matters affecting the welfare of the Chi-

nese Community. The head of this Department is styled since 1934 as Secretary for Chinese Affairs, Malaya. In the Unfederated Malay States his functions are those of an adviser on Chinese affairs. He has no executive powers in these States. There are 15 other Senior appointments in the department and the holders of these appointments are stationed in different parts of Malaya.

"The Protectorate officers are Deputy or Assistant Controllers of Labour under the Labour Ordinance or the Labour Code for their respective Settlements or States. As such they are empowered to adjudicate on claims for wages between Chinese employees and their employers, regardless of race, and to make orders, without limit as to amount which are enforceable in the Civil Courts. No fees are chargeable to labourers who institute such proceedings and it is not necessary for them to engage counsel to draw up their claims or to present their cases. The labourers thus have direct access without charge to a tribunal empowered to hear and to decide claims for wages. When disputes arise at places of employment at some distance from the Protector's Office, an officer customarily proceeds to the place of employment, e.g., a mine or a rubber estate, and hears the case on the spot.

"The increasing prosperity of Malaya and its main industries led, in the later months of the year, to demands for increased wages from Chinese labourers and artisans in almost all

types of employment. The increasing understanding by the Chinese labourer of the trend of industrial conditions, newspaper accounts of stay-in-strikes in France, agitation by Communists and others all played their part in unsettling labour. The Chinese employee's main concern is with wage rates. By comparison, amelioration of conditions of employment is to him relatively unimportant. Given good wages and reasonable conditions of employment, he is not prone to listen to the arguments of the agitator. The distinction between the social worker who is honoured and the agitator who is execrated is not always easy to draw.

"The demands of Chinese labourers and artisans were in many cases settled by negotiation either directly with employers or with the assistance of the Protectorate, but strikes were nevertheless not infrequent. It may be possible for planters to negotiate contracts with tapping contractors providing for remuneration on a sliding scale varying with the monthly average market price of rubber. Such a contract would be beneficial to both parties."*

"The rapid increase that occurred in the general prosperity of Malaya and of its main industries during the early part of the year resulted in a large number of strikes amongst Chinese artisans and labourers, as employers did not concede increases in wages as rapidly as and to the extent that the employees thought justified.

* The Annual Report for 1936 of the Secretary for Chinese Affairs in Malaya.

Except in one case terms of settlement were arranged direct or were negotiated through the mediation of officers of the Department. The exception was the strike of rubber estate labourers that occurred in Selangor and in Negri Sembilan in March, and this had several unusual features. The employees had grievances, chiefly the failure of employers to give increased wages as rapidly as the industry's economic position justified. It was not definitely established whether the Communist agitators who afterwards organised it caused the strike or fomented a strike that had already begun. But the organisation of the strike reached an elaboration never before known in Malaya, nearly 10,000 Chinese rubber estate employees being affected, and eventually the strike became definitely political with the threat to essential services that occurred when the employees of Malayan Collieries, Ltd., struck work in an attempt to enforce the claims of the rubber estate employees. A clash with the Police quickly ended this attempt and fair terms were then soon reached in the main strike.

"In consequence of this strike officers of the Department have since been inspecting places of employment frequently, new legislation, which was still under examination at the end of the year, has been drafted to provide machinery for settling wage disputes in essential services and, in certain conditions, in other types of employment, and a Chinese Labour Advisory Committee was appointed by His Excellency the Governor and High Commissioner.

"In the latter part of the year adjustments necessary in wages through the deterioration in trade and prices were made without real difficulty, the employees accepting stoically what they felt to be inevitable. Malaya's labour troubles would be less if employers accepted the converse of this and realised that the Chinese labourer expects to share in the benefits of returning prosperity to Malaya's main industries without the time-lag and the necessity of demanding an increase of wages which has been his usual lot in the past."*

The Protectorate does not publish any information relating to the movement and employment of Chinese labour in Malaya. The report of the Labour Department for Malaya, 1936, gives very little information on Chinese labour, though on convenient occasions the Chinese labour is made to cast a big shadow to cause confusion particularly in India. The only information it conveys is the number of Chinese labourers employed in the following organised places of employment:

Estates	Mines.	Factories	Govt. Depts.
60,842	47,187†	38,065	5,050

(2) INDIAN.

The Labour Department of Malaya is mainly concerned with the South Indian labour. All administrative and executive responsibility re-

* The Annual Report for 1937.

† There is some glaring omission in these figures. The annual report for 1936 of the Mines Department gives the total number of Chinese at 75,341.

garding labour is vested in the Controller of Labour, Malaya. He is assisted by two Deputy Controllers of Labour and four Assistant Controllers of Labour—all belonging to the Malayan Civil Service.* They are stationed at different points in the Colony and the F.M.S. In the U.M.S., Johore and Kedah have each a local Controller of Labour belonging to the M.C.S. and in Kelantan and Trengganu, a British Officer in each State performs the duties of a labour officer as a part-time duty. According to the report of Sir Samuel Wilson, "the duties of the Controller of Labour who is of pan-Malayan Status, are mainly concerned with the control of Indian immigration and of the terms and conditions of employment of Indians throughout the Peninsula: and in carrying out these duties he acts as the Chief Adviser and Agent of the Governor and High Commissioner in dealing with various political questions which arise from the presence of such a large Indian community in Malaya."

In view of the dissimilar nature of the Indian and Chinese immigration to Malaya, the activities of the Chinese Protectorate and of the Labour Department differ in many ways. The Protectorate has no hand in bringing the Chinese to Malaya. In Malaya, the Protectorate controls all the Chinese Societies, the traffic in women and girls, manages Rescue Homes, protects destitute children, administers the Mui-Tsai Ordinance and in general serves as an expert

* Besides there are five Extra Assistant Controllers of Labour who are all Asiatics.

advisory body on political and administrative affairs relating to the most influential Asiatic community in Malaya. On the other hand the energies of the Labour Department are largely employed in recruiting and in dealing with the movements of Indian labour between India and Malaya and in recent times in circumventing the vexatious supervision exercised by the officials of the Government of India on the Indian side and on the Malayan side by an Agent of the Indian Government.

The machinery of immigration of South Indians to Malaya is supervised by the Indian Immigration Committee, a Statutory body which also manages the Indian Immigration Fund. This fund was constituted in 1907 and is utilised in importing Indian labour. All employers of Indian labour including the Government are taxed and the proceeds are pooled into this fund which does not form part of the general revenues of the Malayan Governments. The Controller of Labour is the Chairman of the Committee. Besides him there are six other official members. There are ten members representing the planting interests. When emigration came under control in India, an Indian member was added. At present the two Indian members of the Federal and S.S. Legislative Councils are members of the Committee. Recently a third Indian member has been appointed. In India the Committee possesses an Emigration Depot at Avadi near Madras and a smaller camp at Negapatam.

Operations and establishments in India are in charge of the Emigration Commissioner for Malaya at Madras and his assistant at Negapatam both of whom are Civil Servants paid from the Malayan Government funds. The Malayan Agency has been given a free hand to recruit and transport as many labourers as required. The function of the Indian officials is only to supervise and see that the necessary formalities of the emigration laws and rules are complied with. The close liaison between the employers of labour and Labour Department arises from this arrangement by which the Labour Department has assumed responsibility to import Indian labour to meet the requirements of the whole country.

It is just as well the official spokesman of the Malayan deputation which visited India in 1923 made a guarded statement that the interests of the Government and the planters were not necessarily identical. For, soon after—from 1924 onwards—the Indian Government began to insist on a statutory provision for standard wages for Indian labour. The Indian Immigration Committee—an unwieldy body of employers solely concerned with the importation of large numbers of labourers—was by law invested with the powers and functions of a wage board. In reality it is an employers' board as both the Government Departments and the planters are the employers of South Indian labour. The identity of interest between the two sections of the Immigration Committee was complete when the wage question

came to the forefront in the years preceding the slump of 1930.

The Indian labourer lives on the estate. The Chinese and Javanese labourer generally live off the estate. The Labour Code contains many provisions, general in application, but in practice, confined to Indian labour, relating to housing, sanitation, medical arrangements, water supply, estate schools, children's creche and such other amenities. Both in theory and in practice a tradition has been built up that the Tamil labourer should look up to his master for redress whose fatherly benevolence resolves the many petty disputes, the matrimonial tangles in the labour lines and other petty ills which commonly afflict the simple unsophisticated, illiterate peasant mass of the Indian Villages. The guiding hand of the Labour Department is supposed to come in when the local Raj of the planter is unable to deal with any situation. In recent times, however, there have been changes. There have been vague stirrings among the labourers. Petition-writers abound in plenty in the nearby townships and there are literate persons in numbers everywhere. The echoes of the outside world are heard in the eating-house shops. Direct petitions to the Labour Department and even direct approach to the Indian Agency are increasingly frequent. A certain amount of labour therefore devolves upon the Labour Department in enquiring into the complaints. There is a measure of protection against any form of grosser abuses and the res-

ponsibility for affording protection vests in the Labour Department.

Like the paternal bureaucracy of India in the past, the planters and the Labour Department believe that they have discharged their responsibilities if they have eliminated all grosser forms of abuses and promoted certain ameliorative measures which the present-day social conscience demands. In every other respect, they act and behave like the self-constituted trustees, forgetting that the Indian in Malaya owes no allegiance to them and is only an alien. The economic interests of Indian labour are claimed to be safe in their hands. In recent times Indian opinion has challenged this spurious claim and has made it clear that the interests of Indian labour are not safe unless their rights particularly in the matter of wages are handed over for safe custody to bodies which command public confidence and on which labour enjoys equal representation with the employers.

The reason is the two major preoccupations of the Labour Department working in close cooperation with the employers' organisation are to arrange for continuous supply of labour and to resist demands for proper wages. There was a time in Malaya when the employers used to meet and discuss labour problems in public. Owing to the presence of the Indian Agency, discussions in the public became gradually less frequent. Labour questions were transformed

into State secrets. Individuals were warned for what was unjustly described as indiscreet utterances in the public. 'Look out' notices were sent round sometimes asking the Managers to be beware of the questions that may be put by an Indian Agent who was then on a highly dangerous and secret mission of finding out the disparity of sexes on the estates! At a time when 'delicate' negotiations were pending with the Government of India for the reopening of assisted emigration, someone blurted out publicly that there was an excess of labour. It was pointed out immediately that this was nothing but sniping from behind the lines. It is understandable if the technical and the business side of the industry are well-guarded secrets. The general public may not be entitled to pry into them. It is a grotesque situation which makes it possible to dispose of the fate of thousands of workers in secret confabulations and by manoeuvrings conducted behind the back of the parties vitally affected. More recently an inner body of the United Planting Association of Malaya has been constituted to deal with labour questions and this body conducts its affairs in a manner which would throw into shade the Chancelleries of Europe. All for what? Just to take a few cents off the labourers' wages.

All this may be dismissed with an amused unconcern by distant India, were it not considered to be tragically serious by those who have for nearly two decades watched the Indian labour

problems in this country. On the question of work and wages, the protection enjoyed by Indian labour is tenuous and the provisions of the Labour Code particularly relating to the offering of the statutory period of work in a month, hours of work and payment for overtime work, are often set at nought or ingenious pleas. A former Controller of Labour naively describing himself as a 'simple public servant', once laid down the astounding proposition that 'in critical times the guidance of the law is never wholly adequate. Extra legal action is often called for and in such circumstances, no Controller of Labour is able to impose his will unless he has the support of the Council of the Planters' Association of Malaya.' It requires some gullibility—even though Indians have in the past been somewhat gullible in believing all that their masters said—to believe that the Labour Department was 'in the position of a retreating army' in the face of the advance of the rabble army of workers from South India or that the 'fortifications of the Labour Code' were strenuously held in favour of the workers. One has only to refer to the reports of the Indian Agency of the past few years to realise on whose behalf the valiant Commander was holding his 'fort'. The simplicity of this public servant was indeed remarkable. One was asked to believe that the timid body of voiceless employers were being subjected to extra-legal action. A Tamil paper characterised these innocent views at that time as diplomatic. In polite words it meant "You say yes when you really mean *no*."

If a constructive approach is to be made towards the problem of Indian Emigration, it is unnecessary to criticise the Malayan Labour Department beyond pointing out to the responsible quarters in India that they are under a mistaken belief that the Department will protect and safeguard the economic interest of the Indian labourer or of the general interests of the Indian settler. This is as it should be. The Labour Department has to look after the interests of the rubber industry on the prosperity of which is based the economic life of Malaya and the financial resources of the Government. On the other hand, it is the duty of the Government of India and particularly that of the Madras Government to see that emigration of her nationals to a foreign country is permitted and regulated on national lines. India and her emigrants must be benefitted by such emigration. 'Stand by and look on with absolute unconcern' has been the Indian policy hitherto. Can this go on for ever?

Nowhere else in the world can one see the spectacle of hundreds of thousands of poor, ignorant and illiterate peasants gathered and shipped to another country. The picture is painfully grotesque. The Kangany who recruits in the South Indian villages is an emissary of the Malayan planters. The depots at Avadi and Negapatam are manned by Malayan officials. The Inspector who travels with the emigrants on board the steamer is a subordinate of the Labour Department. There are three stages in the

journey of an emigrant from his home to the place of employment, viz., (a) recruitment, (b) accommodation at and despatch from the port of embarkation and (c) arrival at his destination—the place of employment. Even though the first two stages are in India, they are in the hands of the Malayan officials.

If the Madras Government is satisfied that in national interests emigration of unskilled workers to Malaya should be permitted, let the task be undertaken on proper lines. A proper Emigration Department must be created by the Government of Madras and that department must assume direct responsibility to select the proper type of emigrants from suitable areas and make all arrangements for the emigration of nationals. Where the emigrants go in small batches as permanent settlers in accordance with an arrangement between the Indian authorities and the Government of the country which is prepared to receive Indian settlers, in such cases, the emigrants may be assisted to emigrate at the cost of the country of emigration. If the movement is only of unskilled workers for purposes of temporary or seasonal labour, then they should be assisted to emigrate by the country requiring labour. All movement of unskilled labour overseas should be through the Emigration Department of the Madras Government and through no other channel. It should be the concern of that department to look after every arrangement until the emigrants are landed safely in the country to

which they go.* The analogy of the United States of America in having emigration depots in certain European countries for selecting emigrants is not applicable to Indian conditions as America's policy is to select certain suitable types of racially acceptable emigrants for being permanently assimilated into the American population. Malaya may station an official in Madras, but there should be no Malayan depot to deal with the emigrants. The basic assumption in the official claim set out below is therefore fundamentally wrong:

"Labour in Malaya is not static and the problem of regulating the flow of emigration to this country is a most difficult one, complicated as it is by such variable factors as the reflow to India of labourers proceeding on holiday, repatriation, the extension and improvements of planted areas, alterations in the amount of rubber which may be exported, etc. It is clear from this that the problem of control must rest solely with the authority who is in a position to appraise these variable factors correctly that is the Malayan Governments, and that it is unwise to hamper the efforts which these Governments make to re-

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* The following gives an insight into the methods of Japanese emigration to coffee plantations in Brazil. Sometime back a statement in the local Press stated:

"...........a party of 630 Japanese farm workers for the plantations of Brazil passed through Singapore. Of the 320 Japanese emigrants on the *Arabia Maru* 270 are destined for the coffee estates of Santos, Brazil. The other 50 will go to the Argentine. The party is in charge of Mr. T. Tokojima. 'Already the emigrants are being taught Portuguese during regular school classes held during the voyage' said Mr. Tokojima. 'The emigrants also publish a small newspaper on board.'"

concile the requirements of the different industries and those of the labourers by restricting the methods which may be employed*."

It quietly assumes that the population of South India exists for the sake of Malayan plantations.

The terms and conditions of immigration should be in the form of a bilateral treaty or convention between the Federal Government of India and the Malayan Governments and should carefully provide for every detail regarding the rights and privileges of the workers. In the absence of a clear-cut policy of emigration based on national gain, even New Delhi can do but little to protect the interests of her nationals abroad.

APPENDIX G

Non-Malays and Administrative Services.

MALAYAN CIVIL SERVICE.—Candidates for the Malayan Civil Service must be natural-born British subects of pure European descent on both sides. The diversities of the political conditions in the three main political divisions of Malaya do not stand in the way of the employment of the officers of the Malayan Civil Service and indeed of the European Officers of all other branches of Service in the different units. The Civil Servant on first appointment is assigned to the

*Report of the Labour Department, Malaya, 1936, para 22.

Colony. A Malayan Establishment Officer in Singapore distributes the European personnel in the States. The Service is a single united body for all purposes though officers in the U.M.S. are shown as being seconded for duty. On the other hand, Malay Officers who have risen in the States cannot serve in the Colony and as a corollary an Asiatic who, if he happens to rise in service in the Colony, cannot serve in the Federated States.

MALAY ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICE.—Officers of the Malay Administrative Service are recruited and employed in the F.M.S. only. "The Malay Administrative Service Scheme in its present form dates from 1930. Appointments as Probationers in the Malay Administrative Service are open to Malays who have passed the Cambridge School Certificate examination and are over 18 and under 20 years of age. In the case of candidates who have taken an honours degree at Oxford or Cambridge the age limit may be waived and they may be appointed on a salary higher than the initial salary prescribed under the scheme. Vacancies are filled by the Federal Secretary on the recommendation of a Selection Board, a minimum of 50 per cent. of the posts being reserved for boys from the Malay College, Kuala Kangsar. Successful candidates undergo a course of study in Law and General Orders at the Malay College, Kuala Kangsar, for a period of one year, and thereafter remain on probation for at least two years during which period they have to pass the examination in

General Orders and Colonial Regulations set for Cadets of the Malayan Civil Service and also an oral examination on subjects connected with the actual work they have been doing. Thereupon they become Malay Officers, Class III, on a salary scale of $150-A10-$170 per mensem. After serving for three years in this Class and provided that they have passed the examination in Law prescribed for Cadets of the Malayan Civil Service, Malay Officers are promoted to Class II on a salary scale of $200-A10-$300 per mensem. There are 22 appointments in Class II mainly consisting of Deputy Assistant District Officerships.

Malay Officers in Class II with not less than seven years' service become eligible for promotion to Class I. Promotion to Class I is not automatic or by seniority, but depends on the occurrence of vacancies and is by selection according to merit and qualifications. There are 28 posts in this Class, the salary scale of which is $330-A15-$420 per mensem. Officers in Class I are called upon to function as Assistant District Officers, Second Magistrates and in other appointments of a similar status and responsibility, many of which were formerly in the cadre of the Malayan Civil Service.

The declared policy of Government is that Malay Officers of the Malay Administrative Service who by reason of their character, ability and industry have shown their fitness should be promoted to the Malayan Civil Service. Officers of Class I of the Malay Administrative Service

who have served in that Class for at least three years are eligible for promotion to the Malayan Civil Service for service in the Federated Malay States only; such promotions being made by selection according to merit and depending upon vacancies in the authorised cadre. At the end of the year under review (1936) 19 Malay Officers had been promoted to the Malayan Civil Service.*"

STRAITS SETTLEMENTS CIVIL SERVICE.—The following are the extracts from the rules governing the establishment of the Straits Settlements Civil Service:—

I. The Service will be entirely separate from the Malayan Civil Service proper, the latter service being reserved, as hitherto, for candidates of pure European descent.

II. The Service will be comprised of—

(a) Certain posts now included in the Malayan Civil Service Cadre and

(b) Certain other posts now outside that Cadre (see paragraph VII below).

III. Candidates for the Straits Settlements Civil Service must be natural born British subjects and they must be sons of parents who are themselves either born or naturalised British subjects. If candidates possess dual nationality—e.g., British and Chinese, they will be required on appointment to renounce

* Annual report on the F.M.S. for 1936, pp. 146—47.

formally their non-British nationality.

IV. Candidates must be either Asiatics or Eurasians. They may be of any Asiatic race.

V. Candidates must be domiciled in the Colony and must be sons of parents who have themselves been domiciled in the Colony at least since the birth of the candidate.

VI. The following Scale of Salary has been approved:

An initial salary of $150 a month during the period in which selected candidates are taking the special course of study at Raffles College. Thereafter the scale of salary will be $190 a month rising by annual increments of $20/- to $270/- p.m., thereafter by increments of $25/- to $520/- p.m. and thereafter by increments of $30/- to $700/- per mensem with efficiency bars at $295, $420 and $550/-

VII. The following is a preliminary and provisional list of posts which may be held by officers in the new Services:

(a) Posts at present in the Malayan Civil Service Cadre—Registrar, Supreme Court, Penang,
Assistant Treasurer, Penang,
Assistant Official Assignee, Singapore,
Deputy Registrar, Supreme Court, Singapore,

Official Assignee, Penang,
Assistant District Officer, Butterworth,
Assistant Registrar of Co-operative Societies,
Fourth Magistrate, Singapore,
Assistant District Judge, Singapore,
Assistant to Attorney-General.

This is a purely tentative list and may be altered at any time by the Governor. In course of time other senior posts to the above may be added.

(b) Posts outside the Malayan Civil Service Cadre:
Such posts as the Governor may, from time to time, with the sanction of the Secretary of State, decide to be suitable.

The important question of the employment of non-Malays in the administrative Services in the F.M.S. was raised in 1936 by Mr. Veerasamy, the then Indian member of the Federal Council. He frankly pleaded that "no distinction can properly be drawn between Malay and non-Malay subjects; they are all subjects of the same Sovereign and enjoy the same rights and same privileges". In rejecting this plea, the High Commissioner replied with equal frankness that " he did not know of any country in which the foreigner, that is to say, a person not a native of the country or Britain, has ever been appointed to an administrative post."

Such loud thinking on the part of the High Commissioner in public naturally gave rise to controversy. The old question as to who are the natives of the country again cropped up and began to cause consternation among the non-Malays. *The Straits Times* asked the non-Malays to give way gracefully in respect of the administrative posts and advised the High Commissioner to make a declaration on a suitable occasion so that the wrong done in debarring the non-Malays from Administrative Service would, to some extent, be righted by another declaration that a fair balance will be kept in the Government Service outside the Malayan Civil Service and the Malay Administrative Service. On the 14th June, 1937, the Governor declared before the S.S. Legislative Council that "in East and West Africa we opened the technical posts first, and I wish to say that here too I see no reason why the people of this country, irrespective of race, should not be appointed to responsible posts in the technical departments such as the P.W.D., Posts & Telegraphs, Customs, Agriculture, Forestry, Medical, Legal and so on, just as they are in other countries." This was subsequently reiterated before the Federal Council.

On this the *Hindustan Times* of Delhi announced that the colour bar was lifted in Malaya. It had apparently forgotten the historic fact that Queen Victoria's Proclamation was issued when the Straits Settlements were part of the Indian Government.

APPENDIX H.

Nationality and Domicile in Malaya.

SECTION I

Extract from Federal Council Proceedings Monday and Tuesday, 30th & 31st October, 1933.

QUESTIONS AND REPLIES

* * *

NATIONALITY STATUS OF LOCAL-BORN CHINESE

28. Question asked by Mr. San Ah Wing on 26th June, 1933:

Could the Government make a statement—

(a) as to whether a boy born in the Federated Malay States of Chinese parents who are British subjects, and who claims British nationality, is legally a British subject? Or is he merely a British protected person?

(b) as to what steps the children and grandchildren of British subjects born and resident in the Federated Malay States should take to retain or acquire British nationality?

Written reply:

(a) (1) Children born in the Federated Malay States of fathers who are British subjects and alive at the date of the children's births fall into two categories:

A.—Children of fathers who were born within His Majesty's allegiance, or who at the time of the birth of the children, (a) were in possession of a Certificate of Imperial Naturalization, or (b) had become British subjects by reason of any annexation of territory, or (c) were in the service of the Crown.

B.—Children of fathers who, though British subjects, were not born within His Majesty's allegiance, or who (a) were not in possession of Certificates of Imperial Naturalization, or (b) had not become British subjects by reason of annexation of territory, or (c) were not in the service of the Crown.

(2) A child born in the Federated Malay States who comes under A is a British subject.

(3) A child born in the Federated Malay States who comes under B and not A is a British subject if the child's birth is registered at a British Consulate (which expression includes a British Residency) within a year of birth.

(b) (1) A child born in the Federated Malay States who comes under paragraph (1) A above is a natural-born British subject and in his case no steps are necessary in order that he may acquire or retain British nationality.

(2) A child born in the Federated Malay States who comes under (1) B is only deemed to be a natural-born British subject if his birth is registered at a British Consulate (as defined in section 27 (1) of the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act, 1914) which includes a British Residency, within one year of its occurrence. Such a child ceases to be a British subject unless within one year after attaining twenty-one he asserts his British nationality, and, if he is a subject or citizen of a foreign country under the law of which he can divest himself of the nationality of that country, by making a declaration of alienage or otherwise, divests himself of such nationality accordingly.

* * *

Section II.

Registration of British Subjects.

The attention of British subjects resident in the Federated Malay States is drawn to the present Imperial regulations dealing with the methods of securing the status of British subjects for their children born within the Federated Malay States. The position of legitimate children born in the Federated Malay States of fathers who are natural-born British subjects is as follows:

(1) Children of the first generation, wherever born are British subjects;

(2) Children of the second and third generations become British subjects if their birth is registered within one year (or in special circumstances, two years) after its occurrence.

Special attention is drawn to the fact that the ordinary registration of birth at the office of a Registrar of Births will not suffice to secure the status of a British subject in the case of children of the second and third generations: the necessary proofs should in each case be produced at the Secretariat in each State, where registration is effected and where all information and assistance will be given.

In the case of children of the first generation, all that is necessary is ordinary registration at the office of a Registrar of Births.

Note:—

A 'child of the first generation' is a child of a natural-born British subject.

A 'child of the second generation' is the child born abroad of a British subject born abroad whose father was a natural-born British subject.

A 'child of the third generation' is the child born abroad of a 'child of the second generation'.

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